

A Historical Review
of the
Japan Mission of
the Church in
America
GILLIN WILFIS

An Educational Study
of the
Lives of the Reformed
in America

J. WILLIS RYDER

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A Historical-Educational Study
of the
Japan Mission of the Reformed
Church in America

by
STEPHEN WILLIS RYDER

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INTRODUCTION

GENERAL

"The extraordinary outburst of missionary activity" of the nineteenth century is cited among the important means of unifying mankind, by Dr. G. P. Fisher in his "Outlines of Universal History."¹ That "outburst" continued its spectacular rise throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century, reaching its apex about 1921. The increasing receipts for the foreign missions movement soon put foreign missions in the class of "big business." In 1900 the receipts in the United States for Protestant foreign missions were about five million dollars; in 1909, over twelve million dollars; and in 1921, about forty-five million dollars.² In 1930, the receipts had dropped to about forty million dollars, as estimated by a recognized expert in missionary statistics.

Although such vast sums of money have been contributed to foreign missions by the Protestant church members of the United States, it is only recently that the question of efficiency in missionary work has engaged serious attention. Foreign missionary organizations were among the last of the traditional institutions to be brought under the searchlight of critical investigation. But it is now generally recognized by the officers of foreign mission boards that the interest in foreign missions cannot continue to grow, or even be maintained at its present level, unless the methods employed in missionary work keep pace with approved educational procedure in the United States. Deputations to study the mission fields have increased noticeably in recent years. Moreover, their reports generally agree in recommending that steps be taken to place the foreign missionary work on a basis that can stand the test of up-to-date, critical examination. At the end of the year 1930 the Fact-finding Commission of the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry began its task in Japan. This

¹ p. 649.

² Dennis, J. S., *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions*, p. 261; *World Atlas of Christian Missions*, 1911, p. 78; *World Missionary Atlas*, 1925, p. 69.

group had the backing of thirty-five directors, five each from seven of the leading Protestant denominations in the United States. One of these churches was the Reformed Church in America, whose mission is the subject of this study. On the findings of this commission a Committee of Appraisal of fifteen members made their report with recommendations. This report, entitled "Rethinking Missions" has been the most discussed subject in church circles since it appeared in September, 1932. Perhaps this is due to the fact that as a preface to the Aspects of Mission Work, the writers devoted the first four chapters of the book to modern theology, or the philosophical basis for modern foreign missions.

It is hoped that this study of the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church extending over a period of seventy years will have value as an independent investigation, with special reference to the place of this mission in the life of Japan.

THE MISSION INVESTIGATED

The mission chosen for this study is the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church in America, with which mission the writer has been connected since 1913. The Reformed Church in America is the oldest Protestant church in the United States that has maintained a continuous existence since it was first established. The Collegiate group of churches of this denomination traces its history directly to "the old church in the fort," organized by the Dutch in New Amsterdam in 1628. From this center some 470 churches have sprung up in the states of New York and New Jersey. About the year 1836 some colonies of Hollanders established Holland, Michigan, near Chicago. Their churches united with the Eastern church in 1850. From this center at Holland, Michigan, most of the remaining 268 churches of the denomination sprang;—about half of them in Michigan, Wisconsin and northern Illinois, and the rest from a center in Pella, Iowa, with an advance line extending all the way to the Pacific coast. The Reformed Church is peculiar, therefore, in having a geographical distribution of its constituency that does not touch New England or any of the Southern states. A common division of the denomination is into the "eastern" and "western" churches, or the "older" and "younger" churches.

The Reformed Church organized its first foreign mission board in 1832, and until 1857 coöperated with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions of the Congregational Church. It opened a mission in China in 1842, one in India in 1853, and one in Japan in 1859, when certain ports of that country were first opened to foreigners. Missions in Arabia and in Mesopotamia were opened in 1889 and in 1924, respectively. In 1930 the total gifts of the church for foreign missions was \$518,626.45. These large undertakings in the foreign work are the more significant when it is realized that the Reformed Church in America is one of the smaller denominations in this country, having in 1930 a total membership of 159,325, with 738 churches and 842 ministers.

For the work of the Japan Mission the Reformed Church expended for appropriations (which does not include the sums spent for property) more than three million dollars from 1859 through the year 1930. During the same period the church sent out one hundred and seven regularly appointed missionaries, not including workers sent out on short terms. These 107 missionaries had served a total of 2115 years at the end of 1930.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to examine from an educational viewpoint the history of the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church in America from the inauguration of the work in Japan in 1859 through the year 1930.

SOURCES OF MATERIAL

The sources of material for this study can be conveniently grouped under four heads as follows:

(1) The original correspondence of the missionaries with their contemporary Secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions in New York, from 1859 to 1930, inclusive. This source is indicated in the footnotes by giving the initials of the writer and the date of the letter.

(2) Published material relating to the work of the Japan Mission, including historical sketches and annual reports of the mission, articles on the Japan Mission in the denominational publications, mostly in "The Christian Intelligencer" and "The

Mission Field," and articles relating to the work of the mission published in Japan, written either by missionaries of the church or by others.

(3) Selected books and articles on the history of Japan, its national system of education, and on Christian missions in Japan.

(4) Selected books and articles on educational philosophy and principles, especially those books and reports in this field having a bearing on Christian missions.

The original correspondence of the missionaries, under (1), and their published writings, included under (2), thus provide primary or original sources for most of the historical portion of the study. In the historical chapters, however, these primary sources are supplemented by some material from secondary sources under (3). Material from (4) provided the guiding principles in writing the discussion of the aims and attitudes of the missionaries in Chapter IV.

There seems to be no ground for questioning the authenticity of the documents used. The letters, and even the published articles written by the missionaries are plainly signed or initialed by the writers in almost every case. The letters have been carefully preserved in the private office of the succeeding Secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions and filed in the order of the date received.

METHOD OF PROCEDURE

In the first three chapters the significant features of the historical development of the mission's work from 1859 to 1930, inclusive, are set forth under the following chapter headings: (1) Beginnings and Working Out of Methods; (2) The Schools of the Mission; (3) The Mission and Its Relations with Other Groups. Chapter IV sets forth the conflicting viewpoints and attitudes of the missionaries as revealed in the historical chapters, and concludes with a formulation of objectives for the mission.

CHAPTER I
HISTORY OF THE JAPAN MISSION OF THE
REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA
BEGINNINGS AND WORKING OUT OF METHODS
DEPARTURE OF THE FIRST MISSIONARIES FOR JAPAN

EMBARKING

At noon on Saturday, May 7, 1859, the clipper ship *Surprise* was towed from her moorings into the current of New York Harbour. As her sails were caught by the breeze, cheers on the boat responded to cheers on the pier and handkerchiefs fluttered. A discharge of artillery proclaimed that the first group of American missionaries to Japan had commenced their voyage.¹ These Reformed Church missionaries, Messrs. S. R. Brown, G. F. Verbeck and D. B. Simmons, with their families, must have been deeply impressed by the farewell scene, as well as by the three great church farewell meetings held for them in New York and Brooklyn. The valedictory of the Rev. Dr. Porter, given in the Williamsburg Church, rang long in their ears:

DR. PORTER'S VALEDICTORY

"The sympathy of the angels will go with you. The power of the Spirit will attend you. The imperishable energy of the Divine Word will be with you. The God of your salvation, triune God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, will be with you. In the name of these ministers of religion, and these venerable elders of the church, in the name of these witnesses assembled and of the church to whose services you are pledged, in the name of the holy apostles whose work you are to continue, of Jesus the Mediator, of the Holy Spirit the Sanctifier, and of the Father Almighty, we bid you farewell, and invoke in your behalf the divine benediction to rest upon you and yours now and forever, Amen."²

¹ Christian Intelligencer, May 12, 1859. It appears that Dr. J. C. Hepburn, Presbyterian missionary to Japan had left New York April 24, 1859. See Howard, W. D., A History of the Origin of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church (USA) Missions in Japan. Mission House, N. Y., 1872.

² Christian Intelligencer, April 28, 1859.

CONTRAST OF FAREWELL AND WELCOME

The nearly five-and-a-half months' voyage to Shanghai gave the missionaries ample time to prepare themselves for the kind of reception they were to receive. Overflowing with the desire to share their Christian faith, they were sent forth amid the prayers and good wishes of fellow-Christians. In Japan they were met by a people who considered it their patriotic duty to hate Christianity and to prevent its propagation in their land. How the Japanese came to develop such a strong antipathy to the Christian religion must be explained before proceeding further.

CHRISTIANITY NOT WANTED

In 1858, the year before the first Protestant missionaries arrived in Japan, the Japanese officials in Nagasaki are reported to have told the Dutch envoy, Donker Curtius that

"They were ready to allow foreigners all trading privileges if a way could be found to keep opium and Christianity out of the country."³

How the Japanese came to put Christianity in the same category as opium is a long and interesting story, but only enough of it can be related here to make intelligible the deep-rooted and persistent prejudice of the Japanese against Christianity—a prejudice, indeed, that exists at the present time in some remote country districts.

XAVIER'S SUCCESSFUL WORK

In 1549, only a few years after the Portuguese "discovered" Japan, the great Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier, introduced Roman Catholic Christianity into Japan. Through his zeal and that of his immediate successors such progress was made that the statistics for the year 1595 showed 300,000 native Christians, including 17 feudal chiefs.⁴

POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS

But Catholic Christianity became a disruptive political force in the southern island, Kyushu. Some of the barons at first

³ Williams, F. W., *The Life & Letters of S. W. Williams*, p. 284.

⁴ Brinkley, F., *A History of the Japanese People*, p. 542. Since the Catholics count population rather than adult church members, 300,000 would correspond to a communicant membership of a little over 100,000.

ordered their subjects to become Christians in expectation of securing trade advantages with the Portuguese merchantmen.⁵ The increasing jealousy and strife among the barons of Kyushu at length aroused the central government to action.

BEGINNING OF PERSECUTIONS

In 1587, the Shogun Hideyoshi, who had previously been favourable towards Christianity, published an edict ordering the expulsion of all the foreign priests within twenty days, on pain of death. About this time he made the statement that he feared that the virtue of the foreign priests was merely a mask of hypocrisy, concealing pernicious designs against the Empire.⁶

THE SAN FELIPE INCIDENT

The suspicions of the Japanese that the Spanish and Portuguese priests were the advance agents of the imperialistic European powers were strangely confirmed by a statement made by the pilot of the *San Felipe*, a Spanish galleon driven by a storm into the harbour of Tosa in 1596. In an attempt to protect his ship's cargo by intimidating the Japanese, he is reported to have said:

"Our kings begin by sending into the countries they wish to conquer religieux, who induce the people to embrace our religion, and when they have made considerable progress, troops are sent to combine with the new Christians, and then our kings have not much trouble in accomplishing the rest."⁷

After the San Felipe Incident the Edict passed in 1587 was enforced with new rigour. Churches were destroyed everywhere. Crucifixion of Japanese Christians began at Nagasaki. It is said that between 1614 and 1635 280,000 Japanese Roman Catholic Christians suffered for their faith.⁸

CHRISTIANITY EXTERMINATED

In 1637 the government troops terminated what was called "The Christian Revolt of Shimabara" by the capture and massacre of the 33,000 Christians and malcontents besieged in Hara

⁵ Such was the case with certain barons of Arima and Amakusa. Brinkley, F., *ibid.*, p. 536.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 540.

⁷ Murdoch, James, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 288.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 642.

Castle in Kyushu. This was officially regarded as the final extermination of the "traitorous foreign sect." In 1640, however, a Portuguese ship came from Macao, China, with four distinguished envoys, laden with gifts, to placate the offended Japanese. But the highly incensed Japanese seized the envoys, together with fifty-seven of their companions, and promptly beheaded them, leaving only thirteen men of the lowest class among the crew to report what they saw to their friends at Macao.

The thirteen spared were taken to the scene of the tragedy and requested to identify the heads of the victims, which were fixed to planks arranged in three rows; and their attention was then directed to a tablet posted up beside them. The writing on this tablet, after recounting the story of the embassy and the reason for the execution of the alleged envoys and their companions, went on:

"So long as the sun warms the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan, and let all know that if King Philip himself, or even the very God of the Christians, or the great Shaka, contravene this prohibition, they shall pay for it with their heads."⁹

For more than two hundred years Europeans heeded that warning.

PERSECUTIONS WERE POLITICAL

It is clear that the reasons for the ruthless extirpation of Roman Catholic Christianity in Japan were political rather than religious. Von Siebold, a physician attached to the Dutch trading post in the early part of the nineteenth century, declared that this was true in the case of Ieyasu's persecutions.¹⁰ The historian Murdock summarizes the issue in the persecutions as a whole as follows:

"This persecution was a duel to the death between (Roman Catholic) Christian priests resolved to carry out the command of the founder of their religion, and of Japanese, equally resolute to preserve the independence of their country."¹¹

The above account serves to show why the Japanese disliked Christianity, and for a long time after the first Protestant missionaries came in 1859, did not wish to be found in their company. It also shows that the ground of their aversion was not religious

⁹ Ibid., p. 667. ("the great Shaka"=Buddha).

¹⁰ Von Siebold, Fr., *Manners & Customs of the Japanese People*, p. 370.

¹¹ Murdoch, J., *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 634, footnote.

intolerance, but the identification in their minds of Christian propaganda with political intrigue.

ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES

MET BY OTHER MISSIONARIES

When the Rev. S. R. Brown, D. D. and D. B. Simmons, M. D., together with their families, the first missionaries of the Reformed Church in America, arrived at Kanagawa, Japan, November 1, 1859, they were welcomed by the Rev. James C. Hepburn, M. D., of the Presbyterian Mission. He had preceded them by nearly two weeks. The Rev. Guido F. Verbeck traveled with the two first-named missionaries as far as Shanghai and left his family there temporarily. When he arrived at Nagasaki November 7, 1859, he found two representatives of the American Episcopal Church already there—the Rev. J. Liggins and the Rev. C. M. Williams. These two missionaries had been transferred from their Board's China missions some months previously. The American Episcopal, the Presbyterian Church in America and the Reformed Church in America were thus the first churches to open up work in Japan, after the two ports, Kanagawa and Nagasaki, were opened for the residence of foreigners.¹²

MISSIONARIES NOT WELCOME

The public notice-boards proscribing Christianity met the eye of the missionaries as soon as they arrived. They recognized that so long as these notices offered rewards for the discovery of Christian believers, they could not teach Christianity in public. But these Protestant missionaries felt that the Japanese people had an erroneous idea of the nature of Christianity from the traditions of Roman Catholic Christianity, which had been expelled because of its political intrigues more than two centuries before. They believed that when the Japanese came to understand the true nature of the religion they came to teach they would accept it and become Christians. They settled down, therefore, for a long siege to break down the walls of prejudice built by the Japanese in self-defence. They exhibited goodwill

¹² The exact order of the arrival of the missionaries in Japan is set forth to correct a misapprehension frequently met in the Reformed Church that the Reformed Church missionaries were the first to arrive in Japan. See *Christian Intelligencer*, Jan. 25, 1905.

and rendered kindly services on every possible occasion. If they were prohibited from teaching Christianity, at least they were not prevented from living it, while they were preparing themselves for better days.

MR. VERBECK ON "PREPARATORY WORK"

Mr. Verbeck's report to the Mission Board in New York for his work done during the calendar year 1860 reveals his views and attitudes at the time.

"As may be seen from the above, our work is mainly preparatory. Ours is not yet the delightful privilege of reporting preaching tours, schools, conversions, baptisms, etc. Preparatory work must be done. The Government and people must be convinced of the peaceableness and disinterestedness (not moral) of our aims. In our special case, they who once attempted 'to drown Christianity in the blood of the Christians' must, as it were, be conciliated; the language, which offers many difficulties, must be acquired; aids to learn the language with more ease in less time must be prepared for the use of future laborers of our own, or other Christian bodies; and the people's religions, institutions, habits, and sins of the country, must be studied attentively. As regards our preparatory labors, I may fitly conclude in the words of a laborer in another part of the great field, 'Though like Achæan warriors, we may have been lying ten years before the impregnable city, every moment may have been needed to fit us for the final conquest.' The Lord prepare us for it, and hasten it in its time!"¹³

Mr. Verbeck recognized that the missionary must learn the background of the Japanese people—their religions, institutions, habits and even their sins. Though the first work of the missionaries did not seem to be religious at all, he recognized that it was a necessary preparation for preaching and school work later on. There is a note of prophecy in his quotation referring to the period of ten years, for it was fully ten years after the above was written before the ban was removed from Christianity in Japan.

"LIVING" CHRISTIANITY

The first activities of the pioneer missionaries, therefore, extended in two directions. They applied themselves diligently to the study of the Japanese language and customs, incidentally working out grammars and dictionaries that would be useful to

¹³ GFV letter, Annual Report for the Year ending Dec. 31, 1860.

other foreigners in learning the Japanese language. They were also alert for opportunities to make themselves useful to the Japanese as the demand arose for the services of foreigners. Ambitious young Japanese desired to learn English and press into the world of science and literature that this language opened up to them. The greatest demand on the pioneer missionaries, therefore, was to teach English and to import books for the Japanese, especially books on science and invention. In the case of the more progressive Japanese the desire for Western learning and the eagerness to acquire the tools of Western civilization soon overcame their inherited prejudices against the foreigner and his outlawed religion. Some Japanese learned that the foreigner could teach them profitable occupations. Japanese who had learned English from the missionaries commanded good salaries as English teachers and as interpreters. Dr. Brown is credited with having taught the art of photography to the first Japanese to learn it.¹⁴ The early missionaries, therefore, became friendly ambassadors to Japan of the Western culture, not indeed through choice, but through the necessity of convincing the Japanese of their goodwill and friendly purposes. It is interesting to note that in their letters the missionaries do not regard such services as real missionary work; they look forward to the time when they will be allowed to preach and to teach the Bible.

THE FIRST BIBLE CLASS

The first Bible class reported by the missionaries was opened at the request of two young Japanese men. It was on June 4, 1862 that this class was started at Nagasaki by Mr. Verbeck. On August 26th he reports that three more students had joined this class.

WAR SCARE: FLIGHT TO SHANGHAI

In his letter of April 28, 1863, Mr. Verbeck explains that war between England and Japan seemed imminent. The foreign consuls explained that they could not offer him protection. At their suggestion, he took his family to Shanghai for a few months. From Shanghai, under date of May 22, 1863, Mr. Verbeck writes that it is reported that England has ordered 20,000 troops from

¹⁴ Griffiths, W. E., *Maker of the Orient*, S. R. Brown, p. 179.

India to avenge the murder of an Englishman named Richardson. Richardson was killed for rudely intercepting the formal procession of the Prince of Satsuma returning home from the capital. Dr. Brown, writing from Kanagawa on May 2, 1863, explains the ultimatum presented by the English minister to Japan. It included the payment of £100,000 for the murder of Richardson and £35,000 for other claims. Through the payment of indemnities by Japan and the bombardment of Shimonoseki by the allied gunboats of England, Holland, France and the United States, war with England was averted,¹⁵ and Mr. Verbeck soon returned to Nagasaki.

MR. VERBECK'S SERVICES TO THE GOVERNMENT

The missionaries used the Bible as their principal text-book of English wherever and whenever they dared to use it. Mr. Verbeck taught a selected group of the sons of samurai the Constitution of the United States and the New Testament. He represented these as the two basic foundations of the American civilization. These students rapidly rose to positions of leadership in the new Meiji Government and then employed Mr. Verbeck as adviser to the Privy Council and Council of State, and also as superintendent of the leading school of the country, which later developed into the Imperial University of Tokyo. With the approval of the Board of Foreign Missions, Mr. Verbeck thus became a self-supporting missionary about 1864, and continued in the government service until he resumed work under the mission in 1879.¹⁶

VARIED ACTIVITIES OF THE EARLY MISSIONARIES

BIBLE TRANSLATION

Dr. Brown's knowledge of the written Chinese characters gained by his nine years' work in China (1838-1847) enabled him to begin translation work early. For the written language of the Japanese consists mostly of Chinese characters. On May 13, 1861 Dr. Brown wrote that he was working on a translation of the Gospel of Mark. In writing later, March 30, 1866, he made a fuller reference to his work:

¹⁵ SRB letter, July 25, 1864.

¹⁶ Verbeck, G. F., *History of Protestant Missions in Japan*, p. 744; 734.

"This latter (translation work) I deem the great work which I have to do, and I feel most keenly my incompetency for it. It requires extensive knowledge of the Japanese language, as well as of Hebrew and Greek to fit one intellectually for the translation of God's word."

In 1867 the American Bible Society offered to bear the cost of printing if the several missionaries engaged in this work on the field would give up their individual translations and work together under its leadership for a standard translation. Dr. Brown rejoiced at this plan for coöperation,¹⁷ and became one of the leading members of the translation committee. Many obstacles arose to hinder the work. It was difficult to get Japanese collaborators as long as the notice-boards proscribing Christianity remained at the crossroads throughout the country.

No teacher could be secured at Kanagawa until March, 1860, writes a missionary, and then only a spy in the employ of the government was provided. A proposal to translate the Scriptures caused his frightened withdrawal.¹⁸

For the first portions completed no Japanese printer could be found. Misfortune was added.

"The scholar missionary, S. R. Brown, of the Dutch Reformed Church, had several portions of the translation ready for the printer" . . . but these were destroyed by a fire in 1867 . . . Consequently the first portion of the Scriptures in the Japanese language did not appear until 1871.¹⁹

When the Permanent Committee on Bible Translation was established, Dr. Brown became its chairman, and continued to be as long as he remained in Japan; ²⁰ that is, until 1879. Mr. Verbeck, too, rendered valuable aid in Bible translation. When he left the government service and resumed work with the mission in 1879, he was elected a member of the Bible Revision Committee.

He "thus had a share in the revision of a large part of the New Testament, as he had afterwards in that of the whole of the Old Testament."²¹

A special work of Bible translation in which Mr. Verbeck took

¹⁷ SRB letter, August 5, 1867.

¹⁸ Ritter, H., *A History of Protestant Missions in Japan*, p. 15.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

²⁰ Biographical Sketches read at Council of Missions, 1909, p. 29.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

great delight was a version of the Psalms of the Old Testament, undertaken in coöperation with the Rev. Mr. Matsuyama.²² Dr. Griffis tells us that Mr. Verbeck

“spent five out of every six days for many months and years exclusively in the work of rendering the Holy Scriptures into the tongue of the Japanese people.”²³

In a letter written January 28, 1867, the Rev. James H. Ballagh reports having been burned “out of house and home” and especially laments the loss of the manuscript of a translation he had made of the four gospels and Acts and a part of Genesis. As above indicated, the first portion of the Bible in Japanese appeared in 1871. The complete Bible was printed in Japanese in 1888. This was called the “Authorized Version.” Due to the rapid development and standardization of the Japanese language during those years agitation soon began for a better translation, but it was not until 1910 that the work of the new Revision Committee actually began. Under the direction of this committee the New Testament was completed in 1917.²⁴ In response to the invitation extended to the leading missions to appoint representatives on the Standing Committee for Bible Revision, the Reformed Church Mission maintained a member on this committee. This large, representative committee selected the “Revision Committee” to do the work. While the mission under consideration had a very prominent part in the actual translation of the “Authorized Version,” it had very little to do with the “Revised Version.” It is significant as showing the attitude of missionaries of the time that the Japanese became regular members on the Bible Translation Committee as a result of their own initiative rather than on the invitation of the missionaries. As far back as 1883 Dr. Verbeck wrote that the Japanese wished

“to coöperate with the foreign missionaries in the work of Bible translation not as mere assistants, but as real collaborators.”²⁵

A plan was drawn up therefore and subsequently followed for the Committee to consist of six members—three Japanese and three missionaries—to do the work of translation.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²³ Griffis, W. E., *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 301.

²⁴ *The Chr. Mvt. in Japan & Korea*, 1927, pp. 209-232, Japan Adv. Press, Tokyo.

²⁵ Verbeck, G. F., *History of Protestant Missions in Japan*, p. 871.

OTHER LITERARY WORK

Dr. Brown was one of the founders of the Asiatic Society of Japan, and its first vice-president.²⁶ The printed transactions of this society afforded a mine of valuable material about Japan nowhere else available in the English language. Dr. Brown published at least two valuable books on Japanese language study. His "Colloquial Japanese and Dialogues in English and Japanese" was a book of 255 pages. His "Prendergast's Mastery System Adapted to the Study of Japanese or English," with 213 pages, was published in 1875. Dr. Verbeck's "Synopsis of All the Conjugations of the Japanese Verb" has been an aid to foreigners in their study of the Japanese language for nearly two-score years. Dr. Henry Stout also has several translations to his credit: "The Heidelberg Catechism and Compendium" in 1877, and "A Brief Statement of Christian Doctrine," which was a translation and adaptation of Dr. S. M. Woodbridge's "Lectures on Sacred History" and "Lectures on Church History."²⁷

"TIDINGS OF JOY"

In January, 1882, Mrs. E. R. Miller took over from Miss McNeal of another mission the Sunday School paper "Yorokobi no Otozure" (Tidings of Joy), which had a monthly circulation of a thousand copies. In 1885 she began the "Chiisaki Otozure" (Little Tidings), written in easier language for the younger children. For many years these two Sunday School papers were the only publications of their kind in Japan. Later they were both published semi-monthly, and their combined circulation exceeded seven thousand. The Rev. Toru Miura is given credit for valuable service in this work.²⁸

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

About 1914 Miss S. M. Couch started a Christian paper for women called "Ochibo" (Gleanings), especially for the purpose of binding together the graduates of the mission's girls' school when it was moved from Nagasaki to Shimonoseki. Its circulation reached almost fifteen hundred copies a month in 1930. In this work, together with other work for women, the name of

²⁶ Biographical Sketches Read at Council of Missions, 1909, p. 29.

²⁷ Christian Intelligencer, Nov. 29, 1877, & Sketch of the So. J. Mission, p. 31.

²⁸ Mission Field, Nov., 1891 & May, 1907; Christian Intelligencer, Oct. 6, 1915.

Miss Jun Tomegawa should be given honourable mention. The Rev. Albertus Pieters published regularly a Christian monthly called "Eisei" (Eternal Life) for use in connection with his newspaper evangelism work, to be considered later. In 1917 the missionary in Kagoshima published a monthly called the "Tanshinsha" (Truth-seeker) for use in connection with his touring work over a wide field as well as in his central evangelistic office and library called the "Tanshinkwan" (Truth-seeker's Hall). His successor did not continue the newspaper from 1920, but the reading room and library was maintained. In 1930 the missionary reported an ever-growing interest in the reading room; the library of eight hundred volumes was being widely used, and the visitors during the year 1929 totaled more than a thousand.²⁹ Other libraries of Christian books have been maintained in the homes of missionaries with varying degrees of success.

NEWSPAPER EVANGELISM

Sporadic attempts have been made from time to time by various missionaries to bring the Christian message before the wide newspaper-reading public of Japan. The Rev. Albertus Pieters, however, is given credit for being the first to make a thorough-going³⁰ experiment of newspaper evangelism, with carefully worked out materials and methods, with tabulated records for reference.³¹ He began this work in Oita in 1912. A detailed report of this experiment was published under the auspices of "The Association for the Promotion of Newspaper Evangelism" in 1919 under the title, "Seven Years of Newspaper Evangelism in Japan." Exact statistics were kept as far as possible, but in the case of the number of converts resulting from the work, even approximate accuracy could never be secured, for many cases of conversion did not come to light for a number of years after the

²⁹ 98th Annual Report, Board of Foreign Missions, R. C. A., 1930, pp. 74-75.

³⁰ The March 1st, 1934 issue of "The Christian Intelligencer" contains an article by the Rev. James Walter Doughty, in which the author writes: "I was the originator and organizer of the first attempt at Newspaper Evangelism in Japan." He further states that his experience extended "for but a little over a year"—from 1900. Mr. Doughty's "Newspaper Evangelism" consisted of paying for advertisements in the newspapers in which he offered to send Christian literature free to all applicants. In later years the term "Newspaper Evangelism" came to be limited more appropriately to the presentation of the gospel message itself in the newspapers, as done by Mr. Pieters. To him therefore belongs the credit for making the first "thorough-going" experiment in Newspaper Evangelism over a long enough period to provide valuable records for the guidance of his successors.

³¹ Japan Christian Quarterly, Jan., 1931, p. 83.

conversion took place. Mr. Pieters considered it reasonable, however, to claim 116 as a result of his seven years' work. Some 63 persons followed the weekly forms of worship which he sent out to places where there were no churches. The total cost of the seven years' work was Yen 31,000 (\$15,500 at that time). Of this sum nearly Yen 11,000 went for advertising space in the newspapers, about Yen 4,500 for books and tracts, and nearly as much more for traveling expenses of evangelists visiting Christian inquirers, individually and in groups. Yen 2,100 went for office rent. These carefully tabulated facts relating to the efforts and results of newspaper evangelism have proved a valuable aid to later missionaries in carrying on newspaper evangelism, especially since the numerous blank forms and other printed material used were made available for others wishing to employ them.

"THE CHRISTIAN NEWS AGENCY"

An interesting development of this form of work should be noted in passing. Formerly newspaper evangelism was pointed out as a method of work that could well be carried on by foreign missionaries independently, that is, apart from any official coöperation with the Japanese church. Here, it was thought, was a field where a missionary could direct his own work without having to consult anybody else, if he desired to retain the management. In practice, however, missionaries doing newspaper evangelism found it advantageous to unite their efforts. At first, they coöperated in what was called "The Newspaper Evangelism Union." In the spring of 1930 the name of this union was changed to "The Christian News Agency." This organization entered into coöperative relationships with the National Christian Council of Japan in the fall of the same year. It had been found mutually advantageous to call the different centers of newspaper evangelism opened up by the various missionaries by one name, viz., "Shinsei Kwan" (New Life Hall). These Shinsei Kwan centers had increased gradually until when the Christian News Agency was formed twenty of them were included in the new organization. They divided up the whole country among themselves.³² In this manner the principal form of work considered

³² The Japan Mission Year Book 1931, p. 35.

best adapted for individual effort became a strong coöperative movement, bringing into its executive committee Japanese Christian leaders.

RELIGIOUS MUSIC

The Japanese are passionately fond of music. Their traditions carry the art back to the gods. When the Sun-goddess was rightly offended at the outrageous conduct of her brother, Susanoo no Mikoto, she hid herself in a cave, and the earth became dark and fearsome. In the conference of the gods and other goddesses as to what could be done to bring back light and warmth to the earth, it was decided that they dance and sing to lure forth the offended one. Hearing the music, and led on by her curiosity, the Goddess first peeped out circumspectly and then gradually opened the crack wider, until the gods were able to pull her out. So the earth again became bright and beautiful. The Japanese music, like the Chinese music, has the five-note scale. As the pioneer missionaries became acquainted with this indigenous music, the task of working out a system of music for purposes of Christian worship seemed almost hopeless. Dr. W. E. Griffis humourously pictures the two Oriental savants, Dr. Hepburn (Presbyterian) and the Rev. E. W. Syle (Episcopal) both familiar with the Chinese, as well as the Japanese music, speculating on the improbability of the Japanese ever being able to learn to sing the Western musical scale. The latter was labouriously working out a compromise system, uniting the Oriental and Occidental measures, in the attempt to construct a musical scale to suit the "low, guttural voice of the Japanese." In the mean time, however, Mrs. James H. Ballagh, of the Reformed Church Mission, believing that the Japanese voice was capable of reaching the higher notes of the Occidental scale, drilled some of her brightest Japanese pupils in the diatonic scale, and then taught them several of the Western hymn tunes. When she gave an exhibition of the singing of these pupils, about 1866, the two sceptical scholars could scarcely believe their own ears.³³ Thus a real beginning³⁴ was made in teaching Western sacred vocal

³³ Griffis, W. E., S. R. Brown, pp. 267-268; Chr. Int., April 20, 1927.

³⁴ It seems probable that the Roman Catholic missionaries used sacred music in their services in the 16th century, but whatever knowledge of the Western music the Japanese may have gained from them seems to have been lost with the extirpation of Roman Catholic Christianity in the first half of the 17th century.

music. First the American missionaries translated a few of the simplest hymns and taught them to the Japanese children. From 1874 translations of American and English hymns were printed. Others were added from time to time until hundreds of hymns, set to their Occidental music, were used in the Japanese churches.

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Small organs, melodeons or harmoniums, as they were variously called, brought by the Protestant missionaries from America,³⁵ were used in the services of worship. The Japanese soon learned to play these instruments. In the eighties the Japanese government introduced both organs and Western vocal music into its school system.

THE UNION CHURCH HYMNAL

About 1874 Mr. Stout of the Reformed Church Mission and Dr. Davidson of the Methodist Mission assisted by their Japanese teachers, the Rev. A. Segawa and T. Asuga, respectively, prepared a Union Hymnal made up of all the translated hymns they could find, and of a few more they had themselves translated. This book was used widely for a number of years. In 1890 there appeared the *Shinsen Sambika*, a hymnal which was a result of the united effort on the part of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The music of this book was printed with the first type made and set up in Japan. It was edited by Mr. Allchin (Congregationalist) and Mr. Verbeck, of the Reformed Church Mission. At the General Missionary Conference in Tokyo in 1900 a committee was appointed to prepare a uniform hymnal in Japanese. None of the Reformed Church missionaries was on this committee. The Union hymnal compiled by this committee was published in 1903. It was adopted by nearly all of the Protestant missions. It contained about 450 hymns.³⁶

³⁵ It is said that Francis Xavier brought an organ from Europe to Japan as early as 1551, and that the Portuguese missionaries brought pianos, violins and flutes to Japan during the latter half of the 16th century, but the Japanese people's acquaintance with these foreign instruments was very slight. See Nitobe, I., *Western Influence in Modern Japan*, p. 515.

³⁶ Another revised union hymnal appeared Dec. 7, 1931, the result of four years' work of a committee of nine men—7 Japanese and 2 foreigners (F. D. Gealy, Methodist, and H. D. Hannaford, Presbyterian). 80 of the hymns of the old hymnal were dropped and nearly 200 others added. Those added included 21 new original Japanese hymns. 24 new original Japanese tunes were also added. Many of these hymns and tunes were secured through offering prize competitions. The *Japan Year Book*, 1932, pp. 125-136.

The Reformed Church missionaries were therefore among the foremost coöperators in publishing hymnals in the first stages of the work, but when the more complete, standard, union hymnals were worked out from 1890, their names do not appear on the lists of hymnal committees.

CONVERTS TO PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

YANO RYU BAPTIZED NOV. 5, 1864

The Rev. and Mrs. James H. Ballagh joined the mission force at Kanagawa on August 17, 1861. To Mr. Ballagh belongs the honour of baptizing the first Protestant Christian convert in Japan, Yano Ryu, on November 5, 1864. The ceremony was performed after consultation with a senior missionary, in secret, since the ban was not lifted from Christianity until 1873.

MORE BAPTISMS IN 1866

The second Protestant baptism on record is that of a samurai named Shinmura, baptized in Higo Province by Bishop Williams of the Episcopal Church in the spring of 1866.³⁷ Great interest centers in the baptism of the two samurai, Wakasa Murata and his brother Ayabe, by Mr. Verbeck at Nagasaki. The story is often told in missionary circles about Wakasa finding in 1854 a book written in a strange language floating on the waters of Nagasaki Harbour.³⁸ From the Dutch traders at Nagasaki he learned that it was a Christian New Testament. He was so much interested in learning its contents that he secretly sent to Shanghai for a Chinese translation. To clear up points he could

³⁷ Verbeck, G. F., *History of Protestant Missions in Japan*, p. 764.

³⁸ Authorities differ as to whether this "strange" language was English or Dutch. Cary writes that it was a Dutch translation of the New Testament (pp. 56-57, in his history). Ritter, in his history, (p. 21) states that it was English; likewise Eugene Stock, writing in 1879 in "Japan and the Japan Mission of the Church Missionary Society" (pp. 102, 103). In the earliest account found, written in 1877, in M. E. Sangster's "Manual of the Reformed Dutch Church," purporting to be an account written by Mr. Verbeck himself, it is stated that the book was "in English . . . probably lost overboard from one of the earliest American or English ships." The Rev. E. S. Booth, describing how other members of the Murata family came to him for baptism, in letters dated May 13th and May 14th, 1880, specifies that it was an "English" New Testament that Wakasa had found. It seems probable, therefore, that the "strange" language was English. The differing accounts of the language in which the book was written can be accounted for by two considerations. First, it seems likely that the story of the finding of the New Testament was not told by Murata himself until his baptism in 1866, which was some dozen years after the book was found. (Griffis, W. E., *Verbeck of Japan*, p. 127). Secondly, fear of the government persecutions against Christians was a good reason for not publishing the story until 1873, when the law against Christianity was revoked. Variations would easily creep into such a story as it was transmitted orally over such a period of years.

not understand he sent messengers from his home in Saga to receive instruction from Mr. Verbeck in Nagasaki—a two days' journey. This unique Bible class was carried on over a period of several years. At length, in 1866, Wakasa appeared at Mr. Verbeck's home in Nagasaki, bringing his brother, and requesting baptism for them both. It was the first meeting of pupil and teacher, and the teacher was very favourably impressed with the progress made by his pupil. Mr. Verbeck warned them of the political and social dangers involved in becoming Christians while the notices outlawing Christianity were still on every cross-roads bulletin-board. Wakasa and Ayabe replied that they had considered the danger, but wished to receive the Christian rite. Mr. Verbeck then baptized them, in secret. That was May 14, 1866.³⁹ Murata courageously reported his conversion to Christianity to his feudal lord at Saga. His lord was ordered by the Imperial Government to punish Wakasa, but all that was done was to have some of Wakasa's books burned.⁴⁰

EXAMPLE OF A JAPANESE BECOMING AN INQUIRER

The following account given by one of the Reformed Church missionaries, is cited to show how Japanese sometimes became interested in Christianity.

Tired out from a long journey I stopped at an inn in Shinshu. Before getting off my clothes for a bath, the sliding door of my room was pulled aside and in walked a nicely-dressed Japanese. He explained his interruption with these words:

"I cannot understand how you could leave your home in America and come around here in these inconvenient hotels, and tramp over these mountains and spend your life among a strange people. It must be a wonderful religion that you have that can make you happy in doing this kind of work. Please tell me the secret of it and explain to me more fully the teachings of Christ."

Here we sat, half-clad, and my shave half-finished, and he a picture of neatness, and talked for two hours. . . . While I was packing up next morning, he was there again, asking me questions.⁴¹

³⁹ No little confusion has resulted from calling Wakasa the first Protestant Christian in Japan. (See the "Christian Intelligencer," Nov. 6, 1895, and M. L. Gordon's "30 Eventful Years," page 7; also J. Maeda's "The First Protestant Believer in Japan" in the "Japan Evangelist," Vol. I, 1893, p. 19). It is clear that the Rev. James H. Ballagh performed the first Protestant Christian baptism in Japan when he baptized Yano Ryu on Nov. 5, 1864. (See Verbeck's "History of Protestant Missions in Japan," p. 763, and also Cary's "History of Christianity in Japan, Protestant Missions," p. 56). Wakasa evidently studied the Bible, and may have become a Christian at heart, before Yano did, but Yano was baptized some eighteen months before Wakasa.

⁴⁰ Griffis, W. E., *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 126-128.

⁴¹ *Mission Field*, January, 1905. p. 327.

CONVERT'S CHANGE OF MORALS—CONCUBINAGE

The Rev. J. H. Ballagh relates the story of the conversion of a confectioner at Mishima. This man had been attending Christian meetings for a number of years, but never applied for baptism. At length he came to the Japanese pastor and explained that he had been waiting until he could give up his concubine and properly care for her. Since this had now been arranged satisfactorily to all concerned, he and his legitimate wife now wished to be baptized. The elders and pastor of the church were much touched by his story. After the customary examination, man and wife were duly baptized and enrolled as members of the Mishima Church.⁴²

ANOTHER CASE—BRIBERY

A postmaster told a Christian pastor and missionary of the temptation that came to him to accept a bribe.

The postmaster was appointed by his district to negotiate with an electric power company. In consideration of certain water rights granted by the people of the district, the company agreed to build roads and other improvements in the district to the value of between one and two hundred thousand yen (value at that time \$50,000-\$100,000).

"The company quietly offered him a thousand yen (\$500) if he would agree to a proposal which was very advantageous to them. The postmaster said to us that the words rang in his ears 'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' So he refused the bribe, but he said that a year ago he would have taken it."⁴³

PROMOTING INTERNATIONALISM

SUPPLYING THE U. S. GOVERNMENT WITH INFORMATION ABOUT
A TREATY

The quotation which follows illustrates how missionaries sometimes rendered valuable international service:

"A very useful service rendered by Dr. Brown consisted in proving to the United States Government that its treaty with Japan was not signed by the Emperor or his representatives, but by persons representing the Taikoon (Shogun) and probably not representing him. Secretary Seward maintained for a time that the treaty was made by men authorized by the Japanese government. But Dr. Brown was in the right, and a treaty was secured from the proper authorities. European nations profited by this discovery and obtained trustworthy treaties."⁴⁴

⁴² Mission Field, April, 1905.

⁴³ Mission Field, May, 1918, pp. 18, 19.

⁴⁴ Christian Intelligencer, Oct. 25, 1905.

PUBLISHING QUESTIONABLE MATERIAL IN AMERICA

In 1865 there was published in one of the smaller publications⁴⁵ of the Reformed Church a description of a festival procession in honour of the Goddess Benten. This was published to give an idea of the obscene side of "heathenism." It seems to have been the custom at that time to publish such descriptions of the most objectionable features of the Asiatic religions to emphasize the need of Christianity in Asia.

DIRECTING JAPANESE TO AMERICA

Some of the Japanese students taught by the pioneer missionaries rose to prominent positions in the Japanese government. They naturally consulted with their old teachers, the missionaries, about sending selected Japanese students to America for study and also about engaging American teachers to fill positions in the schools of Japan. These missionaries, in conjunction with the Board of Foreign Missions in New York, thus became important agencies for promoting friendly relations between Japan and America.

ISE AND NUMAGAWA

On an autumn day in 1866 as Dr. Ferris, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, walked into his office in New York, he found awaiting him a ship-captain and two Japanese, Mr. Ise and Mr. Numagawa, by name.

The Japanese presented to Dr. Ferris a letter from the Rev. G. F. Verbeck of Nagasaki. They told him that they had come to America to study navigation—to learn how to build big ships and make big guns to prevent European powers from taking possession of their country.⁴⁶

They had only about a hundred dollars left after paying their bills on arrival.⁴⁷ Members of the Board of Foreign Missions made pledges amounting to several thousands of dollars to educate these two men. Although these Japanese students did not hear from their government for eighteen months (when a law was passed allowing Japanese to go abroad) this money was not all

⁴⁵ "The Sower," January, 1865, p. 83.

⁴⁶ Griffis, W. E., *The Rutgers Graduates in Japan*, p. 33; *Christian Intelligencer*, Oct. 17, 1905, p. 644.

⁴⁷ *Christian Intelligencer*, March 6, 1873.

needed. What was used by them was later repaid in full in grateful appreciation. After studying in the Rutgers Grammar School at New Brunswick, New Jersey, for a few months, Ise and Numagawa attended the United States Naval Academy. For on the recommendation of Mr. Verbeck, Dr. Ferris and Senator Freylinghausen, a bill was passed in Congress to admit Japanese to the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. Soon afterwards Great Britain followed the example of the people and the government of the United States in showing courtesies to the Japanese, for up to this time Great Britain had not allowed Japanese students to visit her factories and iron works.⁴⁸

OTHER JAPANESE GO TO AMERICA

Ise and Numagawa were the first of a long succession of Japanese—five hundred or more—including a prince of the blood (who traveled incognito) and the two sons of Prince Iwakura⁴⁹ who were sent to America for study or travel through the agency of the missionaries of the Reformed Church, principally Mr. Verbeck. More than half of this number sought advice of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America.⁵⁰ They were assisted in New York with financial advances; private boarding places were found for them; and they were provided with tutors and escorts. In the "Rutgers College Graduates in Japan" some thirty-eight Japanese students are listed as having entered Rutgers College (which was at that time regarded as the college of the Reformed Church in America) from 1866 to 1891. Many of them, though not all, were directed there through the agencies of the missionaries of the Reformed Church. Some of these men later occupied the most prominent positions, such as Mayor of Tokyo, places in the Imperial Cabinet, Rear-Admiral of the Navy, the Emperor's Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, Governors of Prefectures, Members of the House of Peers, and some of them were decorated by the Emperor for distinguished services to the Empire.⁵¹ Mention should also be made of some half dozen Japanese students who, during the decade following 1872, attended the western college of the Re-

⁴⁸ Christian Intelligencer, Nov. 1, 1905, p. 692.

⁴⁹ Griffis, W. E., *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 124, 199; GVS letter, Sept. 21, 1870.

⁵⁰ Christian Intelligencer, Oct. 11, 1905.

⁵¹ Griffis, W. E., *Rutgers College Graduates in Japan*, pp. 21-27.

formed Church, Hope College, at Holland, Michigan; also three Japanese boys and three Japanese girls who attended Hope in later years. Most of these Japanese students were supported by the western churches, in some cases during both their preparatory and college courses. The most prominent Hope graduates were Kumage Kimura and Moto Ohgimi, who graduated also from the New Brunswick Seminary (in 1882) and rendered long Christian service in Japan for both the Reformed and other churches.⁵²

IWAKURA EMBASSY

The important part that Mr. Verbeck had in bringing about the Iwakura Embassy to the United States and Europe in 1872 is shown by his letter to the Board Secretary dated August 6, 1872. A summary of this letter is given below:

About 1870 Mr. Verbeck had given to one of his students, Okuma (later Count Okuma), a statement suggesting a foreign embassy of Japanese representatives, laying out the route, and even suggesting some of the men to be selected. Okuma had kept this paper to himself a long time waiting for the strong anti-foreign feeling to subside. The Embassy was organized and sailed within two months of the time that the paper was shown to Iwakura and the Emperor. Mr. Verbeck warned the Board Secretary not to publish this information, "since it may lose for me," he wrote, "the influential position with the government which it has taken me twelve years to gain."⁵³

When this Embassy was in America, its leaders wrote an official letter of thanks to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church for its interest in and care of the Japanese students who had come to America under its auspices. This letter was headed Boston, August 5, 1872, and signed by the Mikado's Ambassadors, Iwakura and Okubo. The most pertinent paragraph is quoted below:

"The kind assistance and encouragement which were so generally extended by you to the Japanese students who studied in this country during a crisis of such importance in our national history, will long be remembered by us. These students are now far advanced in knowledge, and are very useful to our country, and the Ambassadors feel it is mainly due to your instrumentality."⁵⁴

⁵² Letter from Mrs. J. A. Otte to author, Nov. 15, 1934.

⁵³ GVS letter, August 6, 1872.

⁵⁴ Griffiths, W. E., *Rutgers College Graduates in Japan*, p. 36.

AMERICAN TEACHERS INVITED TO JAPAN

When the old pupils of Mr. Verbeck and Dr. Brown became influential in the new government, they turned to their teachers to recommend and secure from America other teachers and advisers to aid in the establishment of Western institutions, especially educational institutions in their country. A number of American teachers were thus secured through the coöperation of the Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions in New York with its missionaries in Japan. The most distinguished of these men were Mr. William E. Griffis and Captain Janes. The former went from the Reformed Church Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1870, and though he remained in Japan only about four years, he later wrote a score of books and many articles concerning Japan. He was decorated by the Emperor in 1908. Captain Janes went to Japan about the same time as Mr. Griffis to build up an academy for the Prince of Higo. He is probably best known in Japan as the founder of the famous Kumamoto Band of Christian leaders.

MINING ENGINEER, TOO, WANTED

The missionaries were requested to secure not only American teachers for Japan, but also other specialists, as the following quotation from a letter from Mr. Verbeck to the Board Secretary in New York shows:

"By the way, have you among your acquaintances perhaps a good scientific and practical miner? The Prince of Hizen wishes to explore and open his mines, especially coal, and I was desired to inquire for a suitable man to undertake this job. He would be sure of a good salary, and it would be a fine thing to have a good Christian man. . . . You have no idea how the name of Christianity is disgraced by most foreigners in Japan, and it would almost pay just to hire good Christian families and to make them live in various parts of the country to exemplify and adorn the doctrine."⁵⁵

The correspondence does not reveal whether or not the miner was supplied the Prince.

MISSIONARIES AS MEDIATORS OF THE WESTERN CULTURE

The exchange of teachers described above is one of the ways in which the missionaries played no small part in the clash of

⁵⁵ GFV letter, Aug. 17, 1868.

occidental and oriental cultures that took place in Japan two generations ago. For many years after the ports were opened the friendly missionaries appear to have been the chief sources of Western culture for the Japanese. The Japanese learned from the missionaries Western etiquette and customs, along with the English language. The missionaries wore their occidental dress, generally adapted the Japanese houses they occupied to the American style, and imported foreign beds, chairs, and other equipment, such as sewing machines. The houses of the missionaries became veritable museums of Western culture to the curious Japanese. The missionaries not only ordered from America thousands of dollars' worth of books for Japanese individuals and for schools, but more bulky equipment, as well. On one occasion, Mr. Verbeck was requested to order a steamboat for one of the Kyushu daimyo, but this order he turned over to the American consular agent at Nagasaki.

EFFORTS OF MISSIONARIES TO SECURE RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN JAPAN

BAN ON CHRISTIANITY CONTINUED UNDER THE MEIJI GOVERNMENT

The sign-boards proscribing Christianity have been referred to from time to time. The early missionaries were witnesses to the arrest and imprisonment of Christians, generally Roman Catholic Christians, by the government authorities. They had every reason to expect that under the new Meiji (Enlightenment Era) Government, set up with the restoration of the Emperor in 1868, a more tolerant attitude would be taken towards Christianity, but they were doomed to disappointment. The old laws of the Shogun were replaced by new notice-boards nailed up in every town and village with the new enactments of the Meiji Government, one of which was as follows:

"The evil sect called Christianity is strictly prohibited. Suspicious persons should be reported to the proper officials and rewards will be given."

A few months later this further decree appeared:

"With respect to the Christian sect, the existing prohibition must be strictly observed. Evil sects are strictly prohibited."⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Stock, E., *Japan and the Japan Mission of the Ch. Missy. Soc.*, p. 65.

 CONVERTS OF PROTESTANTS PERSECUTED

Even Protestant Christians did not escape persecution, as the following experience of converts of a Congregational missionary shows:

On June 30, 1871, Einosuke Ishikawa, the Rev. O. H. Gulick's teacher, was arrested at Kobe. His wife, too, was arrested. She was not a Christian, but was arrested because she had not informed on her husband. They were cast into prison, and in spite of all that could be done to secure their release, he died in prison in November, 1872. After that his wife was released.⁵⁷

The missionaries were much disturbed at this intolerant attitude of the government towards their Christian converts, and made protestations to their respective consular officials in Japan. Efforts were also made to induce influential Japanese to exert themselves to remove the ban from Christianity. In one of his letters written in 1869, Mr. Verbeck mentions having written an essay on religious toleration occupying twelve pages foolscap, and sending two copies of it to prominent Japanese friends.⁵⁸

RESOLUTION OF GENERAL SYNOD

The General Synod of the Reformed Church in America adopted in 1870 the following resolution submitted by the Board of Foreign Missions:

"Resolved, that the Board of Foreign Missions, in the name of the Reformed Church in America, 'Be, and are, hereby requested to use such means as may seem to them best, to secure through the representative of the United States in Japan, an abrogation of the law in that country which attaches the death penalty to the profession of Christianity among its own people!'"⁵⁹

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES' MEMORIAL ON TOLERATION

A Memorial on Toleration was drawn up under date of May 22, 1871, and signed by a number of missionaries, including Dr. Brown, James H. Ballagh, and C. H. H. Wolff, of the Reformed Church Mission, and sent to the Secretary of the Board in New York for publication in the United States. A part of this is quoted below:

⁵⁷ Cary, O., *A History of Christianity in Japan*, Protestant, p. 73.

⁵⁸ GFV letter, Feb. 16, 1869.

⁵⁹ *Christian Intelligencer*, June 30, 1870.

"The undersigned members of the Protestant Missions of Japan most earnestly solicit the united and vigorous efforts on the part of all Christians to secure religious liberty to the people of this country. We believe that the recent revival of hostility to Christianity exhibited by the Japanese government is in no small degree attributable to the feebleness of the remonstrance by the treaty powers . . . against the persecutions of Christians. What is wanted is the force of public opinion to effect the repeal of the anti-christian law in Japan."⁶⁰

SOME INDIVIDUAL VIEWS ON TOLERATION

In 1871 Mr. Ballagh wrote that he hoped that the Americans would get credit for gaining religious liberty, just as they had for gaining commercial freedom, for Japan. He believed that extreme measures would be justified in working for such desirable ends, for he calls attention to the fact that Commodore Perry had to overcome opposition in his efforts to open up the country:

It is not generally known that Commodore Perry had two attacks on his ship when coming into the harbor, "but with intrepidity he steamed ahead and showed himself invincible to fear. So we must do in the service of Christianity."⁶¹

There was not unanimity of opinion among the missionaries, however, on this matter of trying to force the Japanese Government to provide religious toleration. Henry Stout, a member of the mission resident in Nagasaki, wrote in his letter of December 13, 1871, that in his opinion, the government would come to tolerance of Christianity of itself. He thought it was better for the missionaries not to press it. He had had a change of heart about missionaries sending petitions.

HOW RELIGIOUS TOLERATION WAS SECURED

While missionaries were attempting to bring the pressure of public opinion upon Japan to remove the ban from Christianity through diplomatic pressure and petitions sent to America, liberal Japanese were doing their utmost to bring about the same result. The efforts of Baron Shungaku Matsudaira as early as 1864, of Masanao Nakamura, who wrote a plea for toleration to the Mikado, and especially of the great liberal educator, Yukichi Fukuzawa, exerted great influence in Japan. All these efforts

⁶⁰ Correspondence Files of Board under above date.

⁶¹ JHB letter, May 20, 1871.

notwithstanding, the records indicate that it was the persistent efforts of the diplomatic corps of foreign countries, urged on by the foreign missionaries, that drove the Japanese Government to revoke the edict against Christianity in 1873. This is shown by the statement of Mr. De Long, of which the following is a summary:

Mr. De Long was present at the conference with the Iwakura Embassy in Washington in December, 1871. Prince Iwakura urged the immediate cancellation of the extra-territoriality clauses of the existing treaty. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish replied "that the United States could not consent to place its citizens under Japanese jurisdiction so long as the laws against Christianity remained unrepealed." Prince Iwakura then denied that there was any religious persecution in Japan. At this point Mr. De Long cited the case of Ishikawa which had been under his official cognizance, as evidence of an intolerant attitude towards Christianity. No attempt was made by the Embassy to break the force of this evidence, but on the 24th of February, 1873, the famous edict was issued which led to the withdrawal of the proclamation against Christianity, which for more than 250 years had been posted in every town and hamlet throughout Japan. In Mr. De Long's opinion there was no room for doubt as to the connection between the Conference at Washington and the toleration which this edict introduced.⁶²

Mr. De Long's conclusion is quoted:

"This statement proves that no particular man or government is entitled to the credit of having obtained these results (that is, the revocation of the edict against Christianity). They are the fruit of the earnest labor of foreign representatives at this court, Christian missionaries in this Empire, and Christian statesmen and gentlemen abroad who had access to the Embassy and improved the opportunity they enjoyed."⁶³

SIGNIFICANCE OF MR. VERBECK'S EFFORTS

While it was only a matter of time when the edict against Christianity would have been revoked in any case, it seems evident that the Conferences of the Iwakura Embassy with the Secretary of State at Washington, described by Mr. De Long, was the most important element in effecting the revocation. When the Embassy found that in Europe as well as in America, they could secure no favourable treaty terms as long as the laws against Christianity stood on their notice-boards throughout Japan, they urged their government to make the necessary steps to remove

⁶² Gordon, M. L., *Thirty Eventful Years*, p. 13.

⁶³ Cary, O., *History of Christianity, Protestant*, pp. 83, 84.

the ban. When it is remembered that the suggestions for such an embassy, and the plans, almost exactly followed, originated with Mr. Verbeck, as shown by his letter quoted on page 35, one realizes the important part played by the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church in America in removing the age-long edict against Christianity in Japan. This section of the subject of religious tolerance may appropriately close with a quotation from a letter written by Mr. Verbeck November 21, 1871. In this letter he refers to a previous interview with the Emperor and a day of conferences with ministers, all in preparation for the Embassy's departure on December 22, and concludes:

"It is my hope and prayer that the sending of this mission may do much to bring about, or at least bring nearer, the long longed-for toleration of Christianity."⁶⁴

From the Christian viewpoint it seems regrettable that the Japanese did not see enough good in the Christian religion, even as early as 1873, to have removed of their own accord all obstructions to its normal spread. It turned out, however, that the ban had to be lifted as a political concession in diplomatic bargaining to get what the Japanese wanted, namely, the abolition of the right of extraterritoriality held by foreigners.

ATTITUDES OF MISSIONARIES TOWARD THE NATIVE RELIGIONS

PECULIAR POSITION OF SHINTO

In Japan, the educational system, along with frequent official Shinto ceremonies, have been depended upon to inculcate and perpetuate the traditional conceptions of the "glorious and unique" character of the Mikado and his ancestors—represented as going back in unbroken line to the Sun-goddess, Amaterasu-o-mi-kami—and also of the distinctive nature of the Japanese people. The Emperor's picture is unveiled in all the schools on the national holidays, and the pupils and teachers make obeisance to it. Teachers conduct the pupils to the shrines of the heroes of Japanese history for worship. These features, together with the custom of having kami-dana (god-shelves) in the homes of

⁶⁴ Griffis, W. E., *Verbeck of Japan*, pp. 255, 256; GFV letter, August 6, 1872.

the people for the worship of ancestors, constitute the outward manifestations of the Shinto religion, the official cult of Japan. The unique position of the Emperor in Japan is one of the first formidable facts confronting the Christian missionary to that country. In Japan alone of modern nations is the ruler worshiped as a god. Cogent questions arise. How far can the Christian missionary working in a mission school conscientiously follow the Shinto rites and ceremonies prescribed for all schools by the Imperial government? How far does the country evangelistic missionary feel competent to advise the Japanese Christian inquirer how he can retain supreme devotion to the Emperor and at the same time become a true Christian?

HOW JAPANESE CHRISTIANS REGARD THIS CONFLICT

Japanese Christians differ in their attitude toward shrine and Emperor worship. For example, about 1888, Mr. Kanzo Uchimura, who had been educated at Amherst College, returned to Japan and took a position as teacher in the First Higher School of Tokyo. He declined, because he was a Christian, to bow before the Emperor's portrait, and as a result, was obliged to resign. On the other hand, there are dozens of cases of Christian teachers in the government schools who have no conscientious scruples against participating in this ceremony. They regard the obeisance ceremony merely as an appropriate way of showing reverence due to their ruler.

TOLERANCE OF SHINTOISTS

Shintoists seem to be ever on the alert to annex valuable features from other religions. The following confession of faith of a prominent Shinto educator, Professor Kunitake Kume, seems typical of the educated Shintoists of Japan.

"I turn to the Shinto priests in case of public festivals, while the Buddhist priest is my ministrant for funeral services. I regulate my conduct according to Confucian maxims and Christian morals."⁶⁵

SOME MISSIONARIES SHUN SHINTO AS IDOLATRY

The uncompromising attitude of some missionaries toward Shinto as idolatry forms a striking contrast with the tolerant

⁶⁵ Okuma, Count, 50 Years of New Japan, Vol. II, p. 41.

attitude of educated Shintoists shown above. In 1895 one of the Reformed Church missionaries remonstrated with a Christian Japanese editor of a paper, because the latter had accepted an invitation from the Mayor of Kyoto to attend an official function related to the moving of a Shinto shrine. The missionary failed to dissuade the editor in this case, although he adduced the example of Daniel, the Prime Minister of Babylon, and his companions, to lend force to his argument.⁶⁶ The same missionary in another letter describes a beautiful mountain path leading over a pass, over which he was journeying on one of his country itinerating trips. And then he shows his attitude towards a Shinto priest whom he found when he reached the summit:

"Right there on the top, with all this magnificence of landscape and glory, was a shed for travellers and an old owl of a Shinto priest, with his metal mirror and sooty papers, and paraphernalia of worship, crouching beside a kotatsu (fire-box) for warmth, and hoping for patronage. He signaled me to come to the fire and get some tea, but I asked to be excused, assigning as the reason his disreputable form of worship—an insult to the Creator in the presence of such magnificence."⁶⁷

DISRESPECT SHOWN BUDDHIST PRIESTS

One of the pioneer missionaries was exasperated when he learned that a Buddhist funeral would be performed for a deceased Christian convert, who had been his Japanese language teacher. It seems that the government at that time required all Christians, as well as adherents of other faiths, to be buried in the Buddhist cemeteries. The Buddhist priests would not provide lots for such burials unless they were given the privilege of conducting the funeral services for the deceased. So the missionary ignored the invitation of the Buddhist priests, excusing himself in these words:

"I did not go in to the temple service. Seats were reserved for us, but I could not bring my mind to witness these senseless rites over the dead body of my dear teacher and departed Christian brother."⁶⁸

EARTHQUAKE REGARDED AS GOD'S JUDGMENT UPON IDOLATRY

In the February, 1892 number of "*The Mission Field*," a missionary describes the ruins resulting from the great Gifu

⁶⁶ JHB letter, in *Christian Intelligencer*, June 5, 1895.

⁶⁷ JHB letter in *Christian Intelligencer*, March 3, 1897, p. 132.

⁶⁸ JHB letter, January 6, 1866.

earthquake. He considers them the evident judgment of God upon the idolatry of the people there.

"God's righteous displeasure at idolatry is one of the most manifest lessons of this sad calamity. It occurred in the Aichi and Gifu Kens (Prefectures), where there has been the greatest opposition to Christianity, in which the Shinshu or Hongwanji temple sect, which has one or two great temples of its two divisions—East and West—in nearly every town and great city, has been foremost in the opposition.

"In February (1891) the new Methodist Church building was frequently assaulted, the pastor, foreign missionary and church members were compelled to seek police protection; and now, eight months later, their own temples in vast numbers are prostrate with the ground and great numbers of their priests and devotees destroyed by combined earthquake and fire."

He has no comments to make, however, regarding the death from the same earthquake of five Christians at Nagoya—two of them while attending an early morning prayer-meeting at the Methodist Protestant School—which he mentions in the same article.

THE SUN-GODDESS ATTACKED

The Rev. Albertus Pieters, of the Reformed Church Mission, made a frontal attack on the Sun-goddess, from whom the Emperors of Japan are said to be descended and derive their authority to rule. By paying at regular advertising rates, he had his article inserted in the Fukuoka Nichi Nichi, a prominent Japanese daily newspaper, in January, 1923. In his critical expose of the Sun-goddess, he stated his reasons for believing that she was nothing but a personification of the sun, and therefore no ancestress of the Imperial Family at all, and in no sense a proper object of religious worship. A great furore ensued. The missionary was summoned before the public procurator by the local Shinto priests, but he convinced him that he had no political aims. Shortly afterwards the missionary was obliged for family reasons to return to America, but the opposition to his evangelism office continued for months after his departure. The office had to be removed twice on account of pressure brought to bear upon the owners of the buildings who leased to the successors of the missionary in this work. In writing up this episode for the Sunday School Times of October 27, 1923, the missionary re-

vealed his own attitude toward this experience in the following words:

"Some there were, even among missionaries and Christian workers, who disapproved of such an attack upon a goddess so deeply entrenched in the affections of the Japanese people, and so intimately associated with the sacred Imperial Line. The thought of such workers is that since we have such complete liberty to preach on positive gospel themes, it is better to confine ourselves to such work than to arouse opposition by denouncing as untrue the beliefs cherished by the people. It is the old story of those who prefer the easy way."

It is of interest to note that as early as 1873 Mr. Verbeck sent to the Secretary of the Board a photograph of himself bowing before the Emperor.⁶⁹ There are no indications in the correspondence that Mr. Verbeck had any fear of compromising himself, or the Christian religion which he represented, with Emperor worship.

OTHER VIEWS

Other members of the mission, however, seemed to see nothing wrong in allowing such "untruths" to dissolve under the acids of modern scientific education obtained in the government schools throughout Japan. Moreover, they regarded as nothing more than appropriate reverence the sight of the students bowing before the Emperor's portrait or standing with lowered heads when the Imperial Rescript was read.^{69a} Some favoured "baptizing" some of the most popular customs of the people of Shinto and Buddhist origin in order to connect up Christianity more solidly with the daily social life of the Japanese. For example, one missionary of the Reformed Church, published with obvious approval, the ideas of a missionary of the United Christian Missionary Society as follows:

"It is hoped that the ceremony of girdle-fastening may be Christianized to show the exaltation of motherhood; that shrine-going may be elevated in its significance to church-going; that the boys' and girls' festivals may be spiritualized; that the wine-drinking marriage custom may be changed so that the fine elements of the old ceremony may remain, such as the beautiful custom of changing garments. Then the ceremonies grouping themselves around the dead may be vivified by uniting the living Christ to these expressions of the solidarity of their social life."⁷⁰

⁶⁹ GFV letter in *Christian Intelligencer*, December 9, 1901.

^{69a} WGH letter in *Christian Intelligencer*, December 9, 1901.

⁷⁰ WGH in "Mission Field," Nov., 1916.

AMBIGUITY OF SHINTO

Even in the minds of the leading Japanese Christians the position of Shinto is not clear: whether bowing at the shrines is worship or simply reverence, and whether Shinto is a religion or only a system of official etiquette. In order to get an official, authoritative pronouncement upon such questions, the Japanese Christians met with the government's Committee on Shrines in 1930. The Christians drew up the following statement:

"(1) Does the Government look upon Shinto as a religion or not?

(2) If Shinto be a religion then we desire that it be put on the same basis as other religions and that, as a consequence, the present practice of causing students of primary schools to worship at shrines be discontinued.

(3) If Shinto be not a religion then we desire that among the ceremonies carried on at Shinto shrines all religious practices or practices resembling these be discontinued."

An interesting feature of this attempt to have Shinto defined by the Government is the fact that a majority of the Buddhist priests on the Governments' "Commission to investigate the System of State Shinto" are taking a stand identical with that of the Christians as indicated above.

The Chairman of this commission openly stated that the Commission would not be able to finish his investigations for two or three years.^{71 72}

LOYALTY OF JAPANESE CHRISTIANS TO THE EMPEROR

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF LOYALTY

The charge of disloyalty to the Emperor, often made against Japanese Christians in the early days, appears to have been based on theory rather than observation. When the Japanese becomes a Christian he puts God first, and the Emperor second; therefore, in becoming a Christian the Japanese becomes a traitor to his country—so ran the argument. A careful examination of books, magazines and newspapers, however, does not provide an iota of evidence to support this theory. On the other hand, it

⁷¹ Tagawa, D., in *Japan Mission Year Book*, 1931, pp. 41, 42; WGH letter June 21, 1930; *Japan Christian Quarterly*, July, 1930.

⁷² From the quotation which follows from the *Christian Century* of March 1, 1933, it appears that the Japanese Government is not likely to define the official status of Shinto:

"Announcement was recently made by the Home Department that the commission appointed three years ago to study and report on whether the so-called state Shinto is or is not a religion has discontinued its research due to inability to reach any consensus of judgment on this momentous question . . . The Home Ministry has met the situation to the satisfaction of the nationalists by deciding to treat state Shinto and worship at the shrines 'as a national affair above religion.' Christians and other liberals see in this a subversion of religious freedom as guaranteed by the Japanese constitution."

appears that the Protestant Christians in Japan, though subjected for many years to the severest scrutiny of the government officials, came to be trusted and honoured by the government as the most loyal and devoted of the Emperor's subjects. The missionaries appear to have been keenly sensitive on the subject of the loyalty of their converts as is shown by the identification of themselves with their converts in supporting the Japanese government.

PRAYERS OF CHRISTIANS AT OPENING OF FIRST DIET

The Japanese Christians and missionaries took a great interest in the opening of the new Diet, recognizing it as a great forward step in representative government. Mr. Ballagh, writing on Thanksgiving Day, 1890, made reference to special prayer being offered in the churches:

"The Christians in various cities held union meetings for prayer and praise. From our church at Yokohama a telegram of congratulation and invocation for the Almighty's blessing upon the Diet was transmitted to both houses."

THIRTEEN CHRISTIANS IN FIRST DIET

The high esteem in which some Christians were held in their communities is shown by the large number of Christian representatives sent to that first Diet:

"There are 13 Christians among the 300 members of the House, and one of them has been elected on ballot the Speaker of the Lower House. Hence there is one Christian for every 23 members in the House, while there is only 1 Christian for every 1,000 people in the whole population." ⁷³

According to a letter from Mr. G. S. Phelps under date of April 1, 1931, the number of Christians in the Diet had increased at that time to 30 members: 12 in the House of Peers, and 18 in the Lower House.

CHRISTIANS IN OTHER HIGH GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

Christians have been elevated to many other high government positions. A writer in the "Christian Intelligencer" of July 8,

⁷³ Miyake, Rev. A., letter to Board Secretary, Dec. 1, 1890.

1903, makes an enumeration of Christians serving in high government positions up to that time.

"The Christian community in Japan has already given to the country 1 Cabinet Minister, 2 Judges of the Court of Sessions, 2 Speakers of the House of Commons (one elected twice), 2 or 3 Assistant Cabinet Ministers, besides a number of Chairmen of Legislative Committees, judges of the appellate courts, etc. In the present Parliament the Speaker and 13 members are Christians; one of them was elected by a majority of 5 to 1 to represent a strongly Buddhist district."

In the Navy, the captains of two of the largest men-of-war are Christians. Three of the great daily papers of Tokyo are in the hands of Christians, and in several others Christians are at the head of the various editorial departments. The best charitable institutions are under Christian directors.

Admiral Uriu, another prominent Christian, was in command of the fleet which won the victory over, and caused the destruction of, two Russian warships at Chemulpo. In the paper quoted above further reference is made to Admiral Uriu:

"He spent several years in this country, taking the full course at our Naval Academy at Annapolis, where he graduated in 1881. His Japanese wife was also educated in this country and graduated at Vassar College. It is a matter of interest not generally known that the privilege of studying at Annapolis was secured for Japanese students through the representatives and influence of our Reformed Church Board of Foreign Missions, incited by our missionary, the late Dr. Guido F. Verbeck."⁷⁴

Half a dozen more of the generals and other leaders participating in the wars with China and Russia were not only Christians, but are enumerated as members, and in some cases as elders,⁷⁵ of The Church of Christ in Japan, the denomination with which the Reformed Church Mission is affiliated. Moreover, at the request of the government, at least four Japanese Christian ministers went to the front as chaplains in the war with China.⁷⁶

PRAYER-MEETINGS FOR JAPANESE VICTORY

The Rev. J. H. Ballagh wrote under date of Jan. 23, 1905, that he had been conducting for several weeks two prayer-meetings daily, one at noon, and the other in the evening, for the "success of the Japanese arms" against Russia. Later, when the

⁷⁴ Christian Intelligencer, March 2, 1904, p. 129.

⁷⁵ Christian Intelligencer, March 22, 1905, p. 177.

⁷⁶ Christian Intelligencer, March 27, 1895, p. 217.

war was over, he cited the victory of the Japanese over the Russians as an instance of God's answer to prayer.⁷⁷ Mr. Bal-lagh was strongly impressed by this Japanese victory of Japan over Russia. Nine years later writing in a magazine published in Japan, he referred to the Japanese occupation of Mukden as an answer to twenty months' persistent prayer "for the success of the Japanese arms in securing the assured peace of the Orient."⁷⁸

BILLS OF RELIGION

A number of bills of religion have been drawn up by the government from time to time since 1900, with a view to regulating religion in its minor details just as it regulates education. These bills, however, have proved so distasteful to the Buddhists and Shintoists, as well as to the Christians, that as yet none of them has been adopted. It seems clear that the Japanese government has come to recognize the Christian workers, foreign as well as Japanese, as dependable allies in working to promote the moral welfare of the nation. The Christians, along with the Buddhists and Shintoists, have been called upon by the government authorities at various times especially to aid in checking the Marxian radicalism so common among the students of Japan.

CONCLUSION ON LOYALTY

The question of the loyalty of the Japanese Christians is no longer raised by those who are acquainted with their record of service to the government. That the government is showing increasing confidence in the Christians is shown not only by its commendations of individual Christians, but also by its whole attitude toward the whole Christian movement in Japan. Christian representatives are invited to the Three-Religion Conferences held by the government from time to time. The Emperor's gift of fifty thousand yen towards the expenses of the preparations for the World Christian Sunday School Convention at Tokyo in 1920, and his annual gifts to the Salvation Army for its welfare work are symptomatic of the confidence felt by the government of Japan towards Christianity. It appears that whatever in-

⁷⁷ JHB letter, Aug. 29, 1905, in *Christian Intelligencer*, p. 566.

⁷⁸ *Japan Evangelist*, April, 1914, p. 164.

fluence the missionaries may have exerted in "denationalizing" the Japanese must be sought for in the realm of customs and acquired tastes of the latter for Western civilization rather than in any cooling of the loyalty of the Japanese towards their government and national ideals. In some of the cases cited the missionary's promotion of the strongly nationalistic attitude of the Japanese subjected him to the criticisms of the more internationally minded missionaries.

THE FIRST PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN CHURCH

FIRST CHURCH ORGANIZED

It has been noted that the first baptism of a Japanese convert to Protestant Christianity took place in October, 1864. Previous to the spring of 1872 only about ten Christian converts had been baptized in Japan.⁷⁹ In January, 1872 the missionaries of Yokohama observed the first week of the month as the week of prayer. In view of the high pitch of interest maintained, daily meetings were continued until the end of February. Some Japanese students had attended these meetings and on the old-style Japanese New Year's, about the middle of February, began meetings of their own. These first Christian prayer-meetings held by the Japanese continued some weeks and culminated in the baptism of nine converts and the organization of a church with eleven Japanese members on March 10, 1872.⁸⁰

J. H. BALLAGH, THE FIRST PASTOR

The first Protestant Christian Church in Japan was called the Kaigan Kokai, that is, the Seashore Church. It was so named because it was not more than a couple of blocks from the waterfront of Yokohama Harbour. The Rev. James H. Ballagh became its first pastor. It appears that he became pastor only after Joseph Niishima had declined the call of the Church.

"We hoped to get Niishima for the Yokohama Church. . . . Thus this first church would have stood forth in its true character as a church officered and governed all by its own people. We desire such a boon soon for the Church of Christ in Japan. It is just here where our Presbyterian

⁷⁹ Verbeck, G. S., *History of Prot. Christianity in Japan*, p. 764.

⁸⁰ JHB letter, Feb. 27, 1872 in *Christian Intelligencer*, April 25, 1872, and Mrs. Prunyn's letter in *Christian Intelligencer*, May 9, 1872.

brethren, or some of them, differ with us, and the wishes of the native church . . . The Presbyterians want to be ex-officio rulers in the church, but the Japanese think it better before their jealous government not to invite the foreign missionaries to a share in their government. This we think is wise."⁸¹

After serving for more than six years Mr. Ballagh resigned, thinking that it would be better for the church if they had a Japanese pastor.⁸² The Rev. Akira Inagaki, who became his successor, was pastor for more than a dozen years.

STEADY GROWTH

The first annual report of the church showed that the membership had grown to thirty-two, and that two prayer-meetings had been carried on weekly, generally led by members.⁸³ The church continued to grow and to start branches, so that in December, 1880, it reported a membership of 322 communicants, inclusive of all the branches.⁸⁴ This first Protestant church was not a denominational church; it was a union church made up of the converts of the Presbyterian, as well as of the Reformed and other, missionaries. This union aspect will be considered later.

J. H. BALLAGH, FOUNDER

It is agreed that the chief credit for establishing this first church is due, in the limited sense in which any one person more than others may be given credit for starting a church, to the Rev. James H. Ballagh. It is noted that in the 1925 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* he is credited with founding the first Protestant Christian Church in Japan in 1872. The nucleus of the new church was formed from the week-of-prayer meetings fostered by him.

INDEPENDENT SPIRIT OF THE JAPANESE

The independent spirit shown by the Japanese at the outset is clearly set forth by one of the eleven original members of this first Protestant church. Writing in his own paper thirty-seven years later (1909), the Rev. M. Uemura refers back to the organization of this first church as follows:

⁸¹ JHB letter, June 18, 1874.

⁸² JHB letter, May 1, 1878.

⁸³ *Christian Intelligencer*, June 5, 1873.

⁸⁴ *Christian Intelligencer*, Oct. 19, 1881.

The spirit of independence was manifested among the Japanese Christians before they had their first church organized in Yokohama. They had been baptized into Christ, but did not like to belong to any denomination having its existence in a foreign country. On the establishment of the first church they insisted on their not being connected with any foreign body, and the missionaries very generously granted their request. Thus a Japanese and independent church was established with the name of the Nippon Kirisuto Kokai (Church of Christ in Japan).⁸⁵

TO MISSIONARY IT IS "NATIONALISM"

The "spirit of independence" so commendable from the Japanese viewpoint, seems to have given no little annoyance and anxiety to the missionaries associated with the work, as the following extract from a missionary's letter shows:

The strong national Japanese spirit is showing itself in everything.

We have had a pretty tough time, Mr. Thompson (Presbyterian) and myself, and some of our best (Japanese) elders, in curbing the tendency to resist all constitutional government in the church, etc.⁸⁶

THE CHURCH BUILDING

It appears from the correspondence that the Rev. J. H. Ballagh had considerable to do with the erection of the first Protestant church edifice. A sum of money was accumulated for building a Protestant church building in Japan a number of years before there were Protestant converts to use it. The building fund was started by a gift of \$400 by the Sandwich Islands Christians, supplemented by \$600 by an English merchant in 1859; \$1,000 was added by the Honourable Townsend Harris, the first minister of the United States to the court of the Shogun, December, 1861. Mr. Harris' successor, the Hon. R. H. Pruyn, contributed \$500, and some British seamen \$50. The Rev. J. H. Ballagh contributed \$559, which he had received as tuition fees from students while conducting a native school in Yokohama. (According to later mission rules such funds belonged to the mission, and were administered by it.) On his visits to America in 1863 and 1869 he collected \$2,373.83. More than \$2,500 more was gained by the careful management of the fund from about 1861 until the church was built in 1872.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Mission Field, June, 1909, transl. from Fukuin Shimpo, Mch. 18, 1909.

⁸⁶ JHB letter, May 10, 1876.

⁸⁷ Mission Field, Feb. 1901, p. 343; Verbeck, Hist. Prot. Miss., p. 782.

Writing July 18, 1874, Mr. Ballagh reports having laid the foundations, with three feet of concrete under the first tier of stones. The size of the building was seventy by thirty-six feet. It had a tower, without a spire, for the belfry. On September 30 of the following year he writes to the Board requesting that there be sent to him a bell and a glass window for this first church building. The church building and Sunday School room attached cost about \$8,000, and was formally dedicated on July 10, 1875.⁸⁸

OTHER CHURCHES

The next church was established in Tokyo, September 20, 1873. Dr. Thompson, a Presbyterian missionary, was chosen pastor temporarily. Seven of the eight original members of this church came with their letters of transfer from the Yokohama Church.⁸⁹ On September 13, 1874, a second church was established at Yokohama. New churches grew up throughout the country. Some differences appeared in the forms of organization, and this fact led to conferences resulting in the union of all the churches into a single body. Before describing that first church denomination, however, a few paragraphs will be given to a consideration of some of the typical attitudes taken by missionaries in the evangelistic work.

SOME MISSIONARY ATTITUDES IN DEALING WITH THE JAPANESE

HONOURING FELLOW JAPANESE WORKERS

The Rev. J. H. Ballagh recognized how sensitive the Japanese were toward foreigners, as the nationalistic spirit was developing in the late seventies. He writes under date of September 6, 1877:

"It is not their assistance so much as their influence and the right or propriety I feel is subserved thereby in dealing with natives of this land through their own people. It prevents Christianity appearing to be foreign. Especially do I desire to have a native elder always pass on the applicants for baptism. I have baptized no one yet on my individual responsibility. I have always had an elder or fellow-minister to share it with me. This I feel is a necessary precaution."

⁸⁸ Verbeck, G. F., *History of Protestant Missions*, p. 782.

⁸⁹ Sketch of the North Japan Mission, 1901, p. 18.

ENCOURAGING AN INDIGENOUS CHURCH

The same missionary writes about the annual meeting of the Japanese church:

"The present adoption of rules for Chukwai (Presbytery) marks the second stage in the growth of the 'Church of Christ in Japan,' and it is a growth from within outward and not an exotic."⁹⁰

MANNER EMPLOYED IN BIBLE TEACHING

Professor Wyckoff writes of the attitude he took toward his hearers in teaching the Bible:

"In my Bible teaching it is my habit to speak as if they (the Japanese) all believe the Bible and its teachings, and I think some have been led to believe by the way that I have taken it for granted that all who know the Bible believe it."⁹¹

CONSENT OF PARENTS BEFORE BAPTIZING

Another missionary cites a number of cases where students desired to be baptized. They were asked to wait until the consent of their parents could be obtained, because in general he would not baptize students until such consent was secured.⁹²

GUNBOAT PROTECTION NOT WANTED

In 1915 there were rumors of a possible war between Japan and the United States. One of the missionaries wrote to the Secretary of the Board under date of May 15, 1915, requesting that no preparation be made in anticipation of taking military action to save the missionaries or the mission property.

"I would like to express a hope if I can do it without impertinence that our Board will do nothing whatever to put its missions on a military basis. That in case of war we should lose all our Japan property or that the whole batch of us should be subjected to great inconvenience, danger and even death, seems to me but a slight thing to the irreparable loss to ourselves if even for a limited period we should try to carry on a work that requires love and confidence when all the time we were showing by secret preparations we had made that we did not have trust and confidence. I have long ceased to believe that there are many secrets in the world, and even if such a thing did not become known outside, the effect on the minds of the workers themselves would be quite disastrous."

⁹⁰ JHB letter, Oct. 24, 1876.

⁹¹ MNW letter, Nov. 6, 1888.

⁹² Mission Field, May, 1892.

THE FIRST CHURCH DENOMINATION

“THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST IN JAPAN”

The first presbytery of the united Church, organized October 3, 1877, consisted of nine churches in Yokohama, Tokyo, Ueda, Shimosa and Nagasaki, with a total membership of 623, and with 25 students for the ministry. Thirteen missionaries were present. Three new churches were organized, all in Tokyo, and the first three candidates for the ministry were ordained. Thus the first church denomination was launched in Japan under the name, Nippon Kirisuto Itchi Kyokwai (The United Church of Christ in Japan).

MORE PRESBYTERIAN THAN ANYTHING ELSE

The form of government of this first church was based upon that of the American churches with slight changes to suit conditions in Japan. The standards of doctrine were the Westminster Shorter Catechism and Confession of Faith (Presbyterian) and the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of the Synod of Dort (Reformed). At the beginning there were but three foreign missions working as feeders for this Japanese church; namely, the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. A., the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the Reformed Church of America. Later, missions of other churches beginning work in Japan joined this group as follows: the mission of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. in 1885; that of the Reformed Church in the U. S. in 1886; and that of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1889. In this way the converts of the entire Presbyterian group of missions entered the one Japanese church denomination, the United Church of Christ in Japan. Great hopes were expressed for this church:

“It was the hope and intention of both missionaries and Japanese Christians at that time that the church to be built up in this land should be non-sectarian, and should be one, not only in spirit and name, but also in faith and organization. It was a distinct disappointment to many that in later years this high ideal failed of accomplishment.”⁹³

ATTEMPTS AT UNION WITH CONGREGATIONALISTS

With a view to maintaining the ideal of a single undenomina-

⁹³ Handbook of the Church of Christ in Japan, p. 91.

tional church, attempts were made, from 1887 to 1889, to unite with the Kumiai (Congregational) churches which had sprung up in Kyoto and vicinity. At first the prospects seemed bright.⁹⁴ A basis of union was fully worked out, and then the situation suddenly changed and the project had to be given up,⁹⁵ because of the growing element of opposition on the Congregational side. The fear of becoming Presbyterian seems to have been the reason why the Congregationalists would not consummate the union. Though the name "The United Church of Christ" was neutral enough, the form of government proposed was Presbyterian, and the standards of doctrine included both the Presbyterian and Reformed. The ministers of the united church were required

"to accept and subscribe to the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Nine Articles of the Evangelical Alliance" and to

"approve the Westminster Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism and the Plymouth Declaration only for substance of doctrine."

As to polity, the separate congregations were to be recognized as the source of ecclesiastical authority, but for the sake of the advantages of organic union, they were to delegate certain of their powers to conferences.⁹⁶

It appears that the united church attempted to carry along all the traditional ecclesiastical furnishings of its component missions. So when it invited the Congregational group to pile theirs on top of the load and to help pull, the total accumulation appeared too formidable to the theologically less strict Congregationalists, and they declined to get into the harness.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH MISSION TO THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN JAPAN

GROWTH OF NIHON KIRISUTO KYOKWAI

The church which the mission had such an important part in establishing, continued to grow. In 1930 statistics showed it to be the foremost Protestant church in Japan, with over 300 organized churches, with nearly 50,000 communicants, and with total annual contributions of nearly \$250,000. At that time the Church of Christ in Japan contained in its membership nearly

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁹⁵ JLA letter, December 4, 1888.

⁹⁶ Imbrie, Wm., *Church Unity in Japan*, pp. 19, 20.

one-fourth of all the Protestant Christians in Japan, almost one-fifth of all the self-supporting churches, and raised for Christian work more than one-fifth of the total contributions made by all the Protestant churches in Japan.

MEMBERS CONTRIBUTED

It is impossible to ascertain with accuracy the number of accessions to the church resulting from the labours of the missionaries and evangelists connected with the Reformed Church Mission, but the statistics of the mission show that over 5,000 adult baptisms were performed from the first baptism in 1864 through the year 1930.

LEADERS CONTRIBUTED

The quality of the Japanese Church is more significant than its numbers. Out of a population of about sixty million people in Japan proper, only about 200,000 are Protestant church members. Considered on the basis of population, this would make a total of about 500,000 Protestant Christians. Their influence, however, in the Diet, in the Army and Navy, in schools and other important government positions, has been far greater than their numbers would indicate. Dr. M. Uemura and Dr. K. Ibuka, both of Dr. Brown's "Yokohama Band," have been among the most outstanding and able leaders of the entire Christian movement in Japan. The former attained distinction as a pulpit orator, as editor of the most prominent Christian weekly in Japan, and as a daring and independent-minded leader of men. The latter is still one of the most prominent Christian educators of the country; a leader who attracts by the singular charm of his personality.

CHURCHES CONTRIBUTED

The Reformed Church Mission followed the policy of commending groups of Christians to the care of the national church as soon as they were nourished to the self-supporting stage. In this manner the Reformed Church Mission has built up and contributed nearly a score of churches to the independent Japa-

nese ecclesiastical organization.⁹⁷ Where mission funds have permitted, church properties have been given by the mission, in whole or in part, to these self-supporting churches. More than half of them were equipped in this way by the mission. To other churches also, still under the care of the mission, property has been given to encourage them to attain to complete self-support.

OTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE EVANGELISTIC MISSIONARIES

MANY STUDENTS OF ENGLISH BECAME CHRISTIANS

It is of interest to note that many of the students who besieged the missionaries for English teaching later became Christians. The expectations of the missionaries in using the Bible as text-book were often thus realized. In the January, 1902 number of the *Mission Field* an account is given of a meeting held to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the coming to Japan of the Rev. J. H. Ballagh. More than fifty men gathered to do him honour, including distinguished leaders of the Japanese church and some foreigners. In the report of the celebration this significant sentence occurs:

"An interesting fact that was brought out was that not one of those men who were early converted and are still leaders among the native Christians had any desire to learn about Christianity when he came to the missionaries. In almost every case it was the desire to learn English that brought them, and all of them hated Christianity and foreigners and wished to learn only that they might be able after awhile to drive the foreigners out of the country."

TOURING ET CETERA

The evangelistic missionary has always done more or less touring into country districts to conduct meetings in new places and visit small groups of Christians in various stages of development. When a group of Christians increased sufficiently in number a Japanese evangelist was assigned to care for them. As far back as 1886 emphasis was laid on the self-support of such groups.⁹⁸ When such a group of Christians was able to pay the entire

⁹⁷ These churches are as follows: Yokohama, Ueda, Kasuga, Mishima, Gotemba, Nagoya, Seto, Kojimachi and Shitaya in Tokyo, Nagasaki, Fukuoka, Saseho, Saga, Karatsu, Miyakonojo. Also in Shinshu the churches at Nagano, Ina, Shimo Suwa and Kami Suwa were turned over to the "Church of Christ in Japan" with a subsidy of ten thousand yen (\$5,000), this being the church's estimate of the amount needed to carry these four churches to the independent, self-supporting stage.

⁹⁸ JLA letter, April 10, 1886.

salary of their evangelist and the rent of the building used as a church, at their request they were dismissed by the mission to the Japanese denominational organization, and thus they secured the status of an independent church. Methods and equipment used by the missionaries varied. Some used automobiles; others found railway and bus facilities satisfactory, as well as more reasonable, since the license for a car up to 1930 was more than a hundred yen (\$50) annually in most prefectures of Japan. Stereopticons with slides, especially slides illustrating the Bible, have been extensively used in church and Sunday School work.

AT SHRINE FESTIVALS

In some places, advantage has been taken of the semi-annual shrine festivals for special evangelistic efforts, often in conjunction with workers of other missions. For example, at Saga, these festivals were held in the spring and fall during the three days the festival lasted. Thousands of people poured in from the surrounding country districts into the spacious park where the local shrine is built. The missionary secured a site, along with scores of other operators of booths, for the erection of his tent and an out-door platform for preaching. A counter was set up for the sale of Christian books. In this way many thousand people were reached with the Christian message, and hundreds of Bibles and other Christian books were sold.

WORK AT EXPOSITIONS

The expositions held in Kyushu, the southern island, every four years, have offered unusual opportunities for evangelistic effort. For example, in 1910 such an exposition lasting sixty days was held in the city of Fukuoka. The Reformed Church missionaries joined with missionaries of other denominations and pastors of Japanese churches, and hired a site and erected a temporary building to seat about fifty people. Meetings were held from three to six o'clock every afternoon; four speakers took turns in conducting the services. During the sixty days sixty-seven different preachers were secured and 242 sermons were delivered. An average of 200 heard the sermons each day.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Christian Intelligencer, June 22, 1910.

WORKING AMONG VOLCANO REFUGEES

Sometimes unique opportunities for work occurred. For instance, in January, 1914, the volcano Sakurajima awoke from its century-long repose and burst forth in fury, burying some of the villages at its base under a hundred feet of molten lava, and driving most of the 70,000 people from their homes in the city of Kagoshima, two miles distant across the bay. The government assembled about seven or eight hundred of the poorest refugees who had nothing at all left and colonized them in a sparsely inhabited mountainous region on the Peninsula of Osumi, some fifty miles distant. One of the mission's evangelists, the Rev. T. Fukunaga, became much interested in these refugees. He collected funds in Kagoshima to build a house for himself and wife, and requested the mission to provide a salary for him to work among them in their government concession. For a number of years Mr. Fukunaga and his wife rendered valuable service to the refugees among the distant hills in social service as well as in the conduct of church and Sunday School services.¹⁰⁰

WORK AMONG FACTORY GIRLS

The lady missionaries of the mission, with their Japanese helpers, frequently held meetings for working girls in factories. A little folding organ was taken for use in singing. Hymns were sung, a Scripture lesson with an explanation was given and prayer offered. For many years the lady missionary at Kagoshima has been invited to hold a Christian service in a large silk cloth factory the first Sunday of each month. Buddhist and Shinto priests were also invited to take turns on other Sundays of the month. The girls learned to sing the Christian hymns with much enthusiasm as they sat on the edges of the double tiers of bunks around the walls of the dormitory where the meetings were held. For a time the government tobacco factory in Kagoshima also welcomed such Christian meetings for their working girls.

MEETINGS FOR LEPERS

For many years the missionaries in Tokyo conducted weekly preaching services in leper colonies in the suburbs of Tokyo.

¹⁰⁰ Christian Intelligencer, July 7, 1915.

PREACHING TO PRISONERS

Ministration to prisoners was also carried on, as shown by the following item in the report of 1892:

"Sunday preaching services in the prison have been carried on throughout the year, interrupted only once or twice when both Mr. Miller and Mr. Miura had to be absent from Morioka." About sixty on an average attended these meetings, which were voluntary.¹⁰¹

WORK AMONG THE ETA

Japan has no outcastes politically, but there is a class of people called the Eta who were the last to receive full privileges as citizens. They were once outcastes, and until quite recently monopolized the work of killing animals and making leather. The Buddhists have always had a strong antipathy to taking life, and despised those who did it. The Eta still have villages of their own, generally in the suburbs of the larger cities. In 1894 a missionary in Kagoshima described the Eta as "not much more than beasts" in the eyes of other Japanese. One of the first evangelists trained in Nagasaki, the Rev. A. Segawa, attempted Christian work among the Eta in a village called Usabura, which consisted of about forty huts. The work did not last long, however, due to the opposition of the Buddhists. They induced the parents not to send their children to the Christian school.¹⁰² In Oita Prefecture a few years later three Eta were baptized in their own village. A demonstration of Christian democracy was given here when the Christians of the Oita City Church arranged a meeting for these three and two other Eta inquirers, and treated them on a footing of social equality. The missionary wrote of the meeting as follows:

"It was the first time the Eta were thus treated by ordinary people and hence it was to them a fine object lesson of true Christian fellowship, which was also the intention of those who planned the meeting. Tea and cakes were served and the Lord's Supper celebrated."¹⁰³

THE EMERGENCE OF AIMS

Seldom are aims expressed by the missionaries in their correspondence or articles. Four, however, have been found, which appear from other sentiments expressed, to be representative.

¹⁰¹ Report of 1892, p. 62.

¹⁰² Mission Field, June, 1894, and October, 1894.

¹⁰³ Christian Intelligencer, June 7, 1899.

MISSIONS NECESSARY FOR HOME CHURCHES

Dr. Brown believed that foreign missions are necessary for the healthy life of the sending churches:

"I solemnly believe the life of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church depends upon her action in this matter (the matter of paying off a debt incurred by the Board of Foreign Missions). To stop working for the spread of Christianity in heathen lands would be her death. She would soon shrivel and diminish to a state of pitiable and hopeless decrepitude and cease to be a power in any land, even our own."¹⁰⁴

A PERSONAL AIM

Another early missionary expressed his personal aim in going to Japan in these words:

"The object of my being in this country is to Christianize, reform and educate these people."¹⁰⁵

A GENERAL AIM

The great aim and purpose of missions as generally held by missionaries of the Reformed Church is summed up in the sentence,

"There is no doubt as to the grand aim of missions, the salvation of the world; and the means, the preaching of the gospel."¹⁰⁶

"CHRISTIANIZATION" DEFINED

As the policies of work of the different missions in Japan came to vary, the missionaries discussed more frequently the real objective of missionary work. Two theories were frequently discussed in missionary circles. The first was the Church Establishment Theory, according to which the foreign missionaries should withdraw as soon as a national church was established. The second was the Evangelization Theory, according to which the foreign missionaries should continue their work until the country was evangelized. One of the missionaries of the Reformed Church, in his book, "Mission Problems in Japan," argues that neither of these policies is satisfactory. He proposes "Christianization," and gives his definition of that term.

¹⁰⁴ SRB letter, Jan. 14, 1865, in *Christian Intelligencer*, May 18, 1865.

¹⁰⁵ CHHW letter, Nov. 5, 1872.

¹⁰⁶ *Mission Field*, August, 1905.

"To state the missionary purpose in a single word, it is not merely to plant the church in a country, nor merely to evangelize the present generation of its inhabitants: It is to *Christianize* that country. I mean by this to establish and so to distribute the institutions of the church that the gospel shall be kept before practically the whole population of a given field all the time, so that the cases shall be comparatively few where a person can grow from childhood to mature age without having the knowledge that is necessary to faith. To use a military term, it is the 'effective occupation' of a territory by an invading army. When we have in this manner garrisoned a field with Christian camps in sufficient numbers and with sufficient appliances to bring the gospel to the attention of each new generation as it appears upon the scene, then our task in that field is accomplished, and not till then. We thus discharge our obligations, not only to our own generation, but also to those who come after us." 107

FORMS OF WORK REVEAL AIMS

More than any expression of aims, the various attitudes and forms of work carried on by the missionaries, as well as the methods employed by them, reveal the true aims of the mission. In general, these forms of work indicate that the salvation of individuals was the principal aim. It will be seen later that the schools had this end in view. Social work looking to the betterment of physical conditions was left to others. The missionaries of the Reformed Church felt called to proclaim the gospel by preaching and by teaching.

107 Pieters, A., *Mission Problems in Japan*, pp. 27, 28.

CHAPTER II

THE MISSION'S SCHOOLS

SKETCH OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT

BEGINNINGS

The pioneer missionaries were beset by Japanese youth eager to learn the language of the West. In order to make contacts for Christian work, the missionaries cheerfully taught such young men, individually and in groups. They used the Bible as a text-book as much as possible, for teaching English from the Bible seemed more like religious work than teaching from regular school books.

THEOLOGICAL CLASSES

When some of the students became Christians through the study of the Bible and through contact with the missionaries, the missionaries started theological classes to train these young men for the Christian ministry. Two missionaries often worked together with such a class; one taught the students philosophy and theology, and the other taught them practical theology, giving them field work in evangelistic meetings. Such classes became the nuclei of later theological seminaries.

ACADEMIC COURSES

The students who came to the missionaries to learn English desired to continue the study of this language, as well as of other Western subjects, such as the sciences, as long as possible. But the academic courses were not established to meet this general demand. The missionaries soon learned that the theological students needed a good foundation of general education. It was for them that the academic courses were set up.

ATTEMPT TO LIMIT TO THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS

Theoretically the academic schools were for the general education of students who intended to enter the ministry. It turned

out in practice, however, that many who took the general course did not take the theological course later. This gave rise to dissatisfaction in America. About 1881 the Board of Foreign Missions made it clear that the primary purpose of the schools of the mission was to educate men for the ministry. The Secretary asserted that there was no justification for the expenditure of mission funds to give a general education to the youth of Japan.

SCHOOLS AS EVANGELIZING AGENCIES

Schools might be justified as evangelizing agencies, some missionaries argued. This was not entirely convincing to many missionaries, as the following quotation from the letter of a leading educational missionary indicates:

"I have for some time had my serious doubts about the propriety and wisdom of providing from regular foreign mission funds large educational opportunities on the mission field. This feeling of doubt is increased when the provision made is largely for the benefit of non-Christians, that is, children of heathen parents, such as is the case in our school at present, and will be, to all appearances, for many years to come. What adds still more to the doubt is the fact that here in Japan the mere intellectual part of an education is abundantly provided by the government. Under these circumstances the school is to be largely viewed as an evangelizing agency, and that a very expensive one, compared with other forms of evangelizing."¹

The controversy as to whether mission funds should be used for educational purposes was waged in many missions. For example, one mission which began work in Japan in 1885 did not open a school, even for the training of its own workers, until 1915, and then it capitulated its old policy only because the other missions protested against furnishing it with any more trained evangelists. Some of the members of the Reformed Church Mission denounced the use of mission funds for schools as a flagrant misuse of funds. As late as 1899, when the Board of Foreign Missions was having difficulty in raising the budget for the missions, a missionary wrote as follows to the Board Secretary:

"Perhaps one reason why the Lord does not send more money is because He does not approve of the way in which that which He does send

¹ AO letter, August 6, 1897.

is spent. As long as we spend the greater or even a large proportion of the funds entrusted on expensive school buildings and secular teaching, I do not see how we can have the face to beseech the Lord" to send more money.²

There were other members in the mission who supported this view.³

Other letters, however, show that the majority of the members of the mission soon came to consider Christian schools a necessary part of a permanent missionary work. They were also convinced of the justification of mission schools as evangelizing agencies. The annual appropriations for the schools continued to grow, although the proposed budgets had to be approved by a majority vote of the mission before being submitted to the Board in America. For a number of years previous to 1931 the appropriations for schools amounted to more than twenty thousand dollars annually—remaining just about equal to the appropriations for so-called evangelistic work. As the expensive educational plants were set up, their budgets became a recognized part of the annual appropriations of the mission. Gradually the school work was accepted as legitimate missionary work, and hostile criticism almost entirely ceased.

A FORESHADOWING OF BETTER EDUCATIONAL METHOD

As early as 1889 a missionary of the Reformed Church expressed his idea of education in the following progressive terms:

*"If we are to produce intellectually sound men we must have well-equipped schools and colleges. Inferior colleges cannot, I believe, turn out superior men. A system of education to be effective ought not to be confined forever to prescribed methods. Advancing thought should strike new and nobler plans."*⁴

MISSIONARIES MORE FAVOURABLE TO SCHOOL ASSIGNMENTS

The somewhat tardy recognition by the missionary that teaching in mission schools was true evangelistic work affected the attitude of the missionary who was shifted from country evangelism to school work. The pioneer missionaries generally preferred preaching to teaching because they considered the former

² MD letter, October 21, 1899.

³ FSS letter, July 2, 1900.

⁴ HH letter, March 11, 1889.

more truly missionary work. It was natural for the theologically-trained men to ask themselves if they were fulfilling their calling when they were teaching English in a mission school. As the schools were begun and maintained, however, it often became necessary to transfer men from the evangelistic fields to teach in the schools. For about the first half of the period of educational institutions, which extended from about 1885 to 1930, evangelistic workers protested against being transferred to teach in the mission's schools.⁵ During the last score of years no protests are found against such transfers. Indeed, there are several cases where men have requested such transfers to school work. So much for the mission's educational work in general. From this point a general survey will be made of the various kinds of schools maintained by the mission.

THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS

In view of the evangelistic purposes of the missionaries, it was to be expected that the first schools to be established by them would be schools to train men to do evangelistic work.

EARLY THEOLOGICAL CLASSES

The correspondence of the Rev. James H. Ballagh shows that he was training young Christian Japanese in theology as early as 1871, and receiving their help in conducting Christian meetings.⁶ This is significant when it is borne in mind that the ban proscribing Christianity and published on the official bulletin-boards was not lifted until 1873. By 1874 a theological school was in operation, although it was not yet formally organized. Concerning it Dr. Brown wrote at the time:

"I now have eight young men who have been elected by vote of the church in my school studying theology. There are two more to join the school in a few days, making the number ten in all."⁷

It is of interest to note that the students of theology were elected by vote of the Japanese church at that early date. The church in Yokohama in that year was reported to have sixty-two members.

⁵ AP letters, Jan. 22, 1895 and June 14, 1911; ESB Mch., 23, 1880; also AO and DCE.

⁶ JHB letter, Jan. 23, 1872, in *Christian Intelligencer*, March 28, 1872.

⁷ SRB letter, Feb. 19, 1874 in *Christian Intelligencer*, April 16, 1874.

MR. BALLAGH PREFERS PREACHING

It appears that the Rev. J. H. Ballagh was glad to turn over his group of theological students to be taught with Dr. Brown's group, for he writes that he prefers preaching to teaching work:

"What I do must be by example. I was never designed for a professor's chair or a doctorate of divinity. My call and ordination is a simple one—to be an evangelist—to be Jesus Christ's man—to the heathen, that is all."⁸

In speaking of the "heathen" the above writer was simply following the customary terminology of his time; in 1874 there seemed to be no derogatory implications in the word, such as were later emphasized.

A PUPIL'S ESTIMATE OF DR. BROWN AS AN EDUCATIONALIST

One of Dr. Brown's pupils, the Rev. M. Oshikawa, wrote of his teacher in 1895:

"Dr. S. R. Brown was a great man. Of all the missionaries that have come to this country I consider him the most worthy of reverence. I do not think that he was so earnest in direct missionary work, but this was only because he understood so well the true secret of successful missionary effort in Japan and worked accordingly. He always said to us: 'I believe that the best plan for the evangelization of Japan is to educate Japanese young men. Just think!' he would say, 'twenty Japanese preachers educated in my school! That means twenty Browns sent out into the world! How much better and greater a work will they perform than I could do!'

"In educational work he was exceedingly earnest and thoroughgoing. He never neglected to make careful preparation for the lessons he gave in the school-room. . . . When students went to him with difficult words or expressions in the Bible he often confessed frankly that he did not understand them either, and did not attempt to explain what he did not know. . . .

"His pure and noble character had an unspeakable influence upon us."⁹

BROADER EDUCATION FOR THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS DISCUSSED

The Rev. J. L. Amerman joined the mission in 1876, especially to aid in the Theological School work. His letter to the Board written soon after his arrival in Japan reveals his prompt grasp of the theological school situation:

⁸ JHB letter, September 24, 1874.

⁹ Japan Evangelist, Vol. III, Dec., 1895, pp. 72, 73.

"(1) There is a class of seven men who can be prepared to enter upon evangelistic work in one year from this time.

(2) There are some six or seven who will require two years to attain the same degree of preparation.

(3) There is no reliable source of supply to which we can look for a class to follow these latter.

(4) There is also among these men a desire to be furnished with a more liberal education in science and the English language, and this desire is so strong that we may not be able to keep them from leaving us and going to Tokyo." . . .

"Some (missionaries) at the mission meeting declared their convictions of the necessity of such more liberal education of the native ministry in order to meet successfully the assaults on Christianity which are already coming from materialistic and infidel sources."¹⁰

This letter gives a very fair idea of the outlook for theological education in 1876—especially of the manner in which the demands for a more basic general educational preparation for the theological students were forced upon the missionaries. This demand for a more liberal education, including science, for the theological students, proved to be the entering wedge for the academic school. This academic school could not be confined to theological students. Thus the stoutly maintained principles of providing mission funds for ministerial education only had to be abandoned.

A UNION THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL ORGANIZED

Dr. Brown's theological school of 1874 was united with some other theological classes, namely, with the class of Dr. Thompson (Presbyterian missionary of Tokyo), and with that of Dr. Hepburn (Presbyterian missionary of Yokohama), to form the new Tokyo Union Theological School in 1877. Dr. Brown's class of thirteen students is said to have formed exactly half—and the best-trained half—of the student body of the new school.¹¹ For nine years this union theological school flourished in this form, with one representative of the Reformed Church Mission and two representatives of the Presbyterian Mission serving as foreign staff.

BECOMES THE THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF MEIJI GAKUIN

Meanwhile academic schools of the Presbyterian and Reformed

¹⁰ JLA letter, July 21, 1876.

¹¹ Griffis, W. E., *A Maker of the New Orient*, S. R. Brown, p. 297.

Missions had united in 1883 to form the Union College of Tokyo. In 1886 the Meiji Gakuin was established in Tokyo with two main departments. The Union College became the Academic Department and the Tokyo Union Theological School became the Theological Department of the Meiji Gakuin.¹² The development of the academic department through its earlier stages will be traced elsewhere. Theological education has shown little change since the formation of the Theological Department in the Meiji Gakuin in 1886. As to numbers of students, there is little growth shown. About 1890 there were forty students and in 1930, forty-five.

DESIRE TO TRANSFER TO JAPANESE CHURCH

The one important trend during this period (1886-1930) was the desire on the part of both the Presbyterian and Reformed Missions to have the Japanese Church take over the Theological School. That the Theological Department of the Meiji Gakuin should be the first school turned over by the Reformed Church Mission to the Japanese Christians is surprising from the previous attitude of the Mission, but not so surprising from the viewpoint of the Japanese. The missionaries had always jealously guarded the teaching in the theological seminary in order to avoid on the one hand, the loss of essential doctrine, and, on the other, the addition of heretical notions. Some of them thought that theological teaching should be kept closely under missionary control. One of the early missionaries even expressed the view that theology should always be taught in the English language.¹³

How the missionaries ever came to yield these prerogatives with regard to the supervision of theological teaching can probably best be explained as revealing the increasing confidence of the missionaries in the capable Christian leaders rising up in the Japanese Church. The Japanese Christians showed their mental acumen in recognizing the jealous attitude of the missionaries in guarding the theological teaching, and their adroitness in taking over that department of education first of all.

THE JAPAN SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

In 1929 the General Synod of the Church of Christ in Japan

¹² The Japanese word "Meiji" means "Enlightened Rule." It was applied to the reign of the Emperor Meiji, 1868-1911. "Gakuin" literally translated becomes "Educational Institution."

¹³ JHB letter, June 11, 1875.

accepted the offer of the Theological Department of Meiji Gakuin made by the Presbyterian and Reformed Missions. This school was united with the Shingakusha to form the Nihon Shingakko (Japan School of Theology). The Shingakusha was a theological seminary established by the Rev. M. Uemura, the most prominent leader in the Church of Christ in Japan, some twenty-five years before. The two missions made "a congratulatory gift" to the new school to extend over a period of from five to ten years, on a decreasing basis. The amount of this gift for 1930 was Yen 6,000 (\$3,000). Each mission also agreed to provide a missionary teacher for the school, and the Presbyterian Mission offered the use of their school buildings and property free of rent for at least five years.¹⁴

Thus terminated the history of the Reformed Church Mission's theological schools. The schools carried on by the mission in conjunction with the Presbyterian Mission had during more than fifty years graduated some 322 students, of whom 75 had died and 150 were still at that time in active service in the church.

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN NAGASAKI

The account of the mission's theological education is not complete without mention of the theological work accomplished in the Nagasaki Station of the mission. The Rev. Henry Stout, who arrived in Nagasaki in 1869, like the missionaries in the Yokohama Station of the mission, started to train students in theology, and cherished the ambition of building up a theological school in the south. He seemed to feel that it was unwise to send theological students from Nagasaki to Yokohama—a distance of eight hundred and fifty miles by railway—and would be better to build up a training school for evangelists in Nagasaki. His attempts never resulted in getting a permanent institution established, however. Nevertheless some of the Japanese evangelists trained by him rendered distinguished service. The Rev. Asashi Segawa later entered the New Brunswick Seminary of the Reformed Church in America, and became the honourable Nestor among the mission's evangelists, serving nearly fifty years before retirement. In connection with Steele Academy for boys, organized in 1887, which will be described later, the theological depart-

¹⁴ HVES letter to WGH, March 10, 1930 and letter WGH, March 24, 1930.

ment had as many as twenty-four students in attendance at one time—in 1894. For many years there was vigorous opposition in the mission to setting up a theological school in the south. Most members of the mission considered it far more economical to have all the students for the ministry trained in the northern mission. Mr. Stout, however, held out to the last against the increasing opposition to his purpose. For a time the Southern Presbyterian Mission coöperated in this theological school at Nagasaki. They provided Dr. R. B. Grinnan to help in the teaching. But the theological work was entirely suspended in 1897, and thereafter the South Japan Mission's theological students were sent to the Meiji Gakuin at Tokyo and the Kobe Theological School of the Southern Presbyterian Mission.¹⁵

But Mr. Stout continued to work for the maintenance of theological training in the south until he left the mission in 1905.

ACADEMIC SCHOOLS

To trace the account of the academic schools of the mission it is necessary to revert to the beginnings of the Union College, which, together with the Union Theological School, united in 1886 to form the Meiji Gakuin.

BEGINNINGS OF ACADEMIC WORK

While classes especially for teaching English had been previously carried on by the missionaries, the first outstanding undertaking of the mission in academic education was the Senshi Gakko in Yokohama. This school was established in 1881 by Professor Martin N. Wyckoff, a trained educationalist who came to Japan especially for this work. The Tokyo Union College, previously referred to, was formed in 1883 by the union of the Senshi Gakko of Yokohama with a similar Presbyterian school in Tokyo. Union College had a successful career, but a short one, for it united with the Union Theological School in 1886 to form the Meiji Gakuin.

THE SENSHI GAKKO

To return to the Senshi Gakko as the point where the mission definitely embarked on the sea of secular education, it is of in-

¹⁵ Peeke, H. V. S., *Sketch of the Japan Mission*, p. 14.

terest to note the eagerness with which some of the educationally-minded missionaries argued for the building up of a first-rate school. One missionary even argued with the Board for the closing of the work in Nagasaki, if necessary, to maintain high-grade educational work in Yokohama:

"We ought not to be without a permanent building expressly arranged for the preparatory school at Yokohama . . . If possible, support the whole Japan work well; if not, don't try to carry on work for the sake of carrying it on, but for the sake of results . . . If we cannot keep Nagasaki and do all as it should be done, give up Nagasaki, and do the work here as it should be done. It is a waste of the church's money to do things imperfectly."¹⁶

Other correspondence indicates that the missionaries of the Reformed Church Mission were stimulated to do their utmost in education about that time by the progress that a sister mission, the Presbyterian, was making in its school work.

NEED OF GENERAL EDUCATION FOR THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS

The necessity for an increasingly broad foundation for the theological men was emphasized as one of the main reasons for building up an academic school. The missionary quoted above writes:

"The standard of fitness for the native ministry is rising continually, and the only way by which we can hope to hold what we have, and much more, the only way to advance as we should, will be by means of men trained as thoroughly as possible—men of general education, as well as men who have only studied the Bible."¹⁷

The establishment of the Senshi Gakko was the outcome of this effort of members of the Reformed Church Mission to build up an academic educational institution. Professor Wyckoff, writing November 8, 1881, calls attention to his efforts to make it a Christian school:

The school has grown to have 28 pupils, of whom 15 are boarders. "They are required to attend all the religious exercises of the school, as well as the Sunday service at the church on the mission property."

This school, as noted above, went into a union institution that provided work of higher grade, called the Tokyo Union College, and this college, in turn, went into the Meiji Gakuin. From its

¹⁶ JLA letter, Sept. 19, 1879.

¹⁷ JLA letter, December 20, 1880.

organization in 1886, the Meiji Gakuin has maintained its place as one of the foremost missionary educational institutions in Japan. Indeed, a well-known missionary writer calls Meiji Gakuin the second best-known missionary college in Japan.¹⁸ He undoubtedly regarded the Doshisha at Kyoto as the first.

FORM OF ORGANIZATION OF MEIJI GAKUIN

At the beginning the general care and supervision of Meiji Gakuin was entrusted to a board of directors of fourteen members, half Japanese and half foreigners. The seven Japanese members on the Meiji Gakuin Zaidan (the board of trustees to hold the property of the school)¹⁹ became the Japanese members on the board of directors. The seven foreigners were elected by the two coöperating missions. In the plan of agreement the school is described as an institution of Christian learning, organized in connection with the Union Church of Christ in Japan (at that time designated Itchi Kirisuto Kyokwai). The organizers expressed the hope that

"the day may speedily come when foreign aid shall no longer be required, and the Itchi Kirisuto Kyokwai shall be able to assume the entire educational and financial responsibility of the institution."²⁰

As to the hope expressed that the Japanese Church take over the school speedily, it has been noted that the Theological Department of this school was transferred (on a basis of diminishing subsidies) by the missions to the Synod of the church in 1930. There is little prospect, however, of the Japanese Church taking over the management and support of the rest of the school for a long time to come.

INCREASED JAPANESE CONTROL

Without indicating in detail the various changes made from time to time in the representation of foreigners and Japanese on the board of directors, it suffices to point out that the 1930 report showed a majority of Japanese on the board. A few cogent facts are quoted below from the report made at a meeting of the mission with the deputation from America in May, 1930:

¹⁸ Gairdner, W. H. T., Edinburgh, 1910, p. 129.

¹⁹ Though the property belonged to the missions, it was registered in the name of Japanese because foreigners could not own real estate in Japan at that time.

²⁰ Printed plan, filed with correspondence, April 29, 1886.

Devolution has gone further in the Meiji Gakuin than in any other school of the Reformed Church. The school is governed by a board of trustees of 16 members. 3 members are chosen by each of the two missions, 3 by the General Synod of the Church of Christ in Japan, 3 by the alumni of the school, and 3 by the board of directors itself. The president of the school is a member ex-officio. There are at present 7 missionaries and 9 Japanese on the board.

PRESIDENTS OF MEIJI GAKUIN

The Japanese have always played an important part in the administration of Meiji Gakuin. When the institution was organized in 1886, the Rev. K. Ibuka was chairman of the board. Not until three years later was the first president chosen, the Rev. J. C. Hepburn, M. D., of the Presbyterian Mission. After serving two years he was followed by the Rev. K. Ibuka, who had been serving meanwhile as vice-president. Dr. Ibuka resigned in 1922, after serving fully thirty years as president. From 1921 to 1922 the Rev. A. Olthmans, D. D., of the Reformed Church Mission, served as acting president. For the several years' interim while seeking a president, the board of trustees assumed responsibility for the management of the school. On February 26, 1925, the Honourable Daikichiro Tagawa was inducted into the presidential office. When the large place of the Japanese in the leadership of Meiji Gakuin is considered, it is clear that much of the credit for the success of the institution is due to them. Mr. Ibuka was one of the young men in Dr. Brown's class at Yokohama, which class went into the Tokyo Union Theological School in 1877. President Tagawa has been vice-mayor of Tokyo, and for many years a member of parliament, as well as a director on the Meiji Gakuin board. His name and presence brought additional lustre to the school.

SCHOLASTIC STATUS OF MEIJI GAKUIN

As far back as 1889 the grade of the courses offered in Meiji Gakuin was briefly set forth in the following quotation from a letter of Professor Wyckoff:

"I consider that our academic course here is a full equivalent for the studies to the end of the Junior Year in any of our American colleges, but it is far from being similar to their courses." He mentions that one of the Meiji Gakuin students had entered Harvard. "We are teaching both Latin and German now as optional studies, but we do not give nearly the attention to them that is given even for preparation for college

at home, because the great body of our students do not expect to go abroad for further study." ²¹

The "academic course" above referred to was the Higher School (Koto-Bu). This department was between the Middle School (Chu-Gaku-Bu) on the lower side, and the Theological School (Shingaku-Bu) on the higher side. The academic course was the literary department. In response to a pressing demand in recent years, a commercial department was opened. It has grown rapidly. At present Meiji Gakuin admits on examination graduates of the government elementary schools to its Middle School Department. Here a course of five years is offered. This course is followed by a Higher School course of three years, either in the Literary or the Commercial Course. Until 1929 the three-year course of the Theological School was open to graduates of the Literary Course. In the Japanese government school system the theological course ranked as a professional school of university grade.

GROWTH OF MEIJI GAKUIN

According to the statistics, up to and including 1930, Meiji Gakuin had graduated since its work began more than 2,500 students. An attempt is made below to present figures of attendance at intervals of five years since the organization of the school in 1886. Where statistics were wanting for the fifth year the figures for another near year are given. The number of Christians in the student body is given wherever it was obtainable.

Year	Number of Theological Students	Number of Students in other Departments	Number of Christians	Percentage of Christians
1886.....	25.....	193.....	52.....	26.9
1891.....	43.....	77.....	44.....	57.1
1896.....	30.....	50.....	34.....	60.8
1901.....	13.....	151.....	32.....	21.1
1905.....	17.....	231.....	53.....	22.9
1910.....	25.....	311.....		
1915.....	19.....	349.....	66.....	18.9
1921.....	16.....	833.....	95.....	11.4
1925.....	24.....	1059.....		
1930.....		1470.....	390.....	26.5

²²

²¹ MNW letter, February 21, 1889.

²² Reports of Board of Foreign Missions for years and on pages as follows: 1887, pp. 69, 70; 1892, pp. 48, 65; 1897, p. 53; 1902, p. 53; 1906, pp. 62, 63; 1911, p. 120; 1916, p. 105; 1922, p. 96; 1926, p. 62; Report filed with letter WGH, June 21, 1930.

A further analysis is made of the 1,470 students enrolled on March 30, 1930:

Middle School938, of these 204 are reported as Christians.
Literary College111, of these 42 are reported as Christians.
Commercial College ..421, of these 144 are reported as Christians.

Students, total1,470, of these 390 are reported as Christians.

As to teachers, 54 full-time teachers were employed in 1930, of whom 43 were reported as Christians, and 59 part-time teachers, of whom 29 were Christians. In addition, six missionary teachers were provided, three from the Presbyterian, and three from the Reformed, Mission. The budget for 1930-1931 was Yen 160,000 (\$80,000). (This does not include the salaries of missionary teachers.) Towards this budget the Presbyterian Mission contributed Yen 11,000 and the Reformed Mission Yen 9,000. The balance of the income came mostly from tuition fees.

SIZE VERSUS QUALITY

For many years there was a growing feeling among some of the missionaries that when the school passed beyond a certain size the law of diminishing returns operated in reducing the proportionate number of Christians in the student body. This opinion was also expressed by Mr. T. Kagawa after he had made an investigation of schools in 1928. He wrote:

"I have visited about 70% of the mission schools in Japan and my impression is that while the girls' schools are a success, and have produced many beautiful characters, the boys' schools are only about 60% successful, because they are too big. The bigger they get the worse they are. When they get big they contain non-Christian teachers who are aggressive and attract a large student following, while the Christian teachers are meek and not fired by zeal. It is unnecessary to have more copies of Mombusho (Government Department of Education) schools. If you want your mission school to be bigger, divide it by two. It may cost more, but it is necessary, that the influence of Christianity may be deeper."²³

Since Mr. Kagawa had attended Meiji Gakuin as a student many years before and watched it grow, it is quite possible that he was thinking especially of Meiji Gakuin when he wrote the above criticism. Notwithstanding this growing belief in the Chris-

²³ Japan Christian Quarterly, October, 1928, p. 371.

tian value of the smaller school, the Deputation visiting the school in 1930 approved a plan for the continued growth of Meiji Gakuin. This plan, submitted by the directors of the school, increases the annual appropriations of the Reformed Church Mission for Meiji Gakuin to Yen 15,000 as soon as practicable, and provides for further increasing this sum until an annual appropriation of Yen 20,000 is reached. This sum, with the Yen 30,000 to be given annually by the Presbyterian Mission, will give the school a total appropriation of Yen 50,000 annually from the two supporting missions. The Deputation further expressed its interest in the suggested plan for the two supporting mission boards to contribute \$250,000 toward a project for capital equipment.²⁴

STEELE ACADEMY, NAGASAKI

The missionaries of the Reformed Church Mission stationed at Nagasaki, as well as those resident in Yokohama, saw the importance of schools. Mr. Verbeck, the first member of the mission to work at Nagasaki, did not stay there long enough to build up a mission school; he was soon called by the government to aid in educational work in Tokyo. The Rev. Henry Stout, however, who came in 1869, soon attracted groups of students, and started a school in his own home. In the discussion concerning theological education, Mr. Stout's efforts in that field were reviewed. He, too, like the missionaries in the north, early recognized that an academic training was necessary for the men going into the ministry. With this in mind he wrote in 1895:

"The first essential for our educational work at present is a school for general literature and science. Upon this we must build."²⁵

It was not until 1886, however, with the arrival of the Rev. A. Oltmans, that the academy he had in mind was put on a permanent basis. With the completion of the new buildings in 1887, Steele Academy was formally opened, with about one hundred students. A Japanese principal was put in charge in the eighties, but this policy was so unsuccessful that Japanese administration was not again tried in this school. In 1893 the Japanese connected

²⁴ WGH letter, July 3, 1930.

²⁵ HS letter, May 2, 1885.

with the school urged that the school be moved to a more favourable location for getting students, suggesting removal to some interior town further north. At the same time they urged for a change in its government. They wanted a board of directors half Japanese and half foreign. The mission made no change on either score.²⁶ There was no little dissatisfaction, however, felt with the school both among the Japanese and the missionaries. In writing to the Board in 1895 the missionary in charge of the school referred to the fact that his predecessor had said that Steele Academy "gets the siftings left when other schools are supplied."²⁷ In 1898 the same missionary principal ordered machinery to set up a laundry in connection with the school. He believed that offering such opportunity to students to work and earn money would result in the following advantages to the school:

It would lift the burden of supporting pupils from the mission.

It would cultivate a spirit of manhood and self-help.

It would enable students who have not the ministry in view to get a Christian education.

It would fill up the higher classes.²⁸

This industrial experiment did not bring the results hoped for, and was soon discontinued. It seemed to have practically no effect in building up the attendance of the school, which was the one thing necessary to apply the selective principle in admitting students. No other experiments appear to have been made. More and more the school became the last resort of students unable to pass the examinations of the government and of the other local mission schools. Later under the leadership of Principal Anthony Walvoord from 1905 to 1919 the school gradually rose to a prominent place among the mission schools of Kyushu. There were too many schools, however, in the Nagasaki region. In 1912 the principal reported:

"The gradually increasing number of government academies and the financial stringency have continued to bring down the number of applicants for entrance."²⁹

Notwithstanding these unfavourable conditions, the standards

²⁶ AP letter, August 15, 1893.

²⁷ AP letter, April 26, 1895.

²⁸ AP letter, April 11, 1898.

²⁹ 1912 Report of Japan Mission, p. 146.

for admission were gradually raised. In 1916 a board of directors was erected by the mission, on which Japanese members were given a place, though not a majority of members. Mr. Walvoord advocated the employment of a Japanese principal for the school. Before a suitable candidate could be found, however, he suddenly passed away in 1919. Thereafter, a wavering policy was followed by the mission. Several different missionaries served as principal, one after another. Finally, in May, 1930, when the Board's Deputation visited Japan, it was decided to close the school. No entering class was admitted in 1930. Arrangements were made to carry the remaining classes forward to graduation on March 31, 1934, or to 1933, if the lowest class could be satisfactorily cared for in another mission school. Meanwhile the oldest teachers were to be pensioned and the others aided to find positions in other schools, as they could be released from the work of Steele Academy. The resources of property and equipment were to be used for the furtherance of boys' education in Japan, probably at Meiji Gakuin.

STATISTICS OF ATTENDANCE

A table is given below to show the attendance at the school in five-year intervals. The school was formally opened in 1887, as previously mentioned, with about one hundred students in attendance.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Students</i>	<i>Number of Christians</i>	<i>Percentage of Christians</i>
1890.....	63.....	22.....	34.9
1895.....	35.....		
1900.....	67.....	12.....	17.9
1905.....	88.....		
1910.....	168.....		
1915.....	345.....	34.....	9.8
1920.....	346		
1925.....	448		
1930.....	414		30

REASONS FOR CLOSING STEELE ACADEMY

The reasons for closing the school are given as follows in the Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions:

³⁰ Figures taken from yearly reports from pages as follows: 1891 report, p. 82; 1896, p. 44; 1901, p. 64; 1906, p. 81; 1911, p. 147; 1916, p. 143; 1921, pp. 75, 76; 1926, pp. 59, 60; WGH letter, June 21, 1930.

"increasing business depression resulting in reduced numbers of students, increasing provision for education of this grade (Middle School) in Nagasaki made by both government and other private schools, and improved and enlarged equipment provided by a similar school operated by another mission in the city."³¹

The competition among schools of middle grade became too severe, and the school lowest in the educational scale decided to drop out.³²

NEED OF BETTER EDUCATIONAL METHODS RECOGNIZED

Before leaving the subject of boys' mission schools a quotation will be made from an article written in 1930 by a member of the mission. This shows his recognition of the need of better educational methods in mission schools. He is dealing with mission schools in general throughout Japan.

"Our own opinion is that the only immediately possible way to secure a future for our schools is to make the schools that we have more distinctive educationally . . ."

Is Christian education to be distinguished from secular education? "We have tacitly said that our school was Christian but that our education was simply education. We have used secular education as bait with which to gather together impressionable youths to whom we could then preach. Given the school we teach Bible to and hold religious exercises among those in attendance upon the school. During 28 or 29 hours a week we are educating and during 2 or 3 hours we are Christian educating . . ."

"We believe further that it can be substantiated that our traditional view of the school as an evangelizing agency using secular education as a means to that end, rather than as an educational process which is in itself evangelistic, has resulted neither in good educating nor in good evangelizing."

As to methods used, "the large majority are in the lecture or recitation stage of development." The recent change of emphasis from subject matter to student taught has not received proper attention in mission schools. The writer quotes the remark of a man highly placed in the Japanese educational department that "except for the religious teaching of the 'Mission' schools, he did not find in them any worth as educational institutions."

He considers it "the duty of the Christian school to adapt the more recently discovered scientific principles governing true education to the Christian aim of developing Christian personality. The Christian con-

³¹ 99th Annual Report, Board of Foreign Missions, 1931, p. 54.

³² It seems in order to add the explanation given by Dr. W. G. Hoekje (August 22, 1934) who was principal when the school was closed. He writes that: "There was an element of choice in the program apart from mere surrender to economic forces; the choice not to fight Chinzei Gakuin (the Methodist School); the choice to concentrate more on Meiji Gakuin (the Tokyo boys' school in which the mission coöperates with the Presbyterians); and the thought that in going to work in Meiji Gakuin he was really carrying on the program of the last years at Steele."

tent of our education is not to be viewed simply as content to be transmitted in one department of the school, but a spirit which is to control the whole educational process . . .

"Our thesis . . . is that the Christian school in Japan is fast in the way of being in a position where it must needs become distinctive in order to survive; that it is not distinctive at present and in its educational technique farther from being Christian than the more advanced among the secular schools. . . ." ³³

The above quotation is inserted to show how wide a range of knowledge of educational principles and method existed within the mission itself.

GIRLS' SCHOOLS: (A) FERRIS SEMINARY

MISS KIDDER

Miss Mary E. Kidder, the founder of Ferris Seminary, went to Japan in 1869. She is said to have been the first single woman missionary regularly commissioned for Japan who remained in the work there.³⁴ For a year or less she lived with the Brown family at Niigata. Then she went to Kanagawa. In 1870 Mrs. Hepburn (a Presbyterian missionary) turned over to her an English class consisting of two girls and a boy.³⁵

As this class grew, Miss Kidder decided in 1871 to limit her class to girls. She found a recently arrived missionary willing to teach the boys. The six girls remaining in the class became the nucleus of Ferris Seminary.³⁶

GOVERNOR OYE'S ASSISTANCE

On September 30, 1872, Miss Kidder wrote to the Board telling of help received from the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture. The Governor, Mr. Oye, whose wife Miss Kidder was teaching, not only secured a building for the school work, but also provided transportation for Miss Kidder between the school and her home. He offered her either a pony and carriage or a jinrikisha, described as "a small carriage drawn by two coolies." Miss Kidder writes, "I chose the latter as more suitable to my quiet ways." The Governor also presented new benches and "a map of the world to hang on the wall." In the same letter, Miss Kidder

³³ The Japan Mission Year Book, 1930, Christian Educational Work, pp. 78-85.

³⁴ Ritter, H., A History of Protestant Missions in Japan, p. 26.

³⁵ Verbeck, G. F., Hist. of Prot. Missions in Japan, p. 45.

³⁶ Sangster, M. E., Manual of the Missions of the RCA, pp. 259-261.

writes, "The Governor begins to think the school is his, for he brings his friends in to hear the girls sing."

PICTURE OF THE SCHOOL IN 1872

In 1872 Mrs. S. K. M. Hequembourg was sent by the Board to assist Miss Kidder in the school. Arriving in the fall, Mrs. Hequembourg wrote home about the school as follows:

"As we enter the room a little before nine, each pupil is in his place, quiet and orderly. Without rising they greet us with a low bow and pleasant 'Good Morning.' School opens at nine with a hymn from 'Children's Praises,' a little book published by the American Tract Society Presbyterian Board. This is followed by a portion of the Gospel of Saint Mark in Japanese, Dr. Hepburn's translation. Each pupil reads a verse, which is explained by Miss Kidder. The girls ask questions very freely, and are encouraged to do so."

Some of Mrs. Hequembourg's comments follow:

"The time seems to be right to establish a permanent institution in the form of a boarding school. Miss Kidder's school now consists of 29 pupils, all girls of the higher class, and eager to be educated, and also to learn our ways of living. Having them with us constantly and away from their own homes, they could be taught the beauties of the Christian home life, and thus be prepared to spread that influence in homes of their own as they leave school."³⁷

The school continued to grow and gain an enviable reputation, according to the same lady's letter of December 23, 1872:

"Japanese of position and culture have great confidence in Miss Kidder as an instructress and thorough lady. No school in Japan has the reputation that hers has for girls, and the Japanese consider it a privilege to send their wives and daughters to us. The school now numbers 42 girls and women."

PROPERTY SECURED IN 1874

In response to Miss Kidder's appeals in America for funds to lease a lot and erect a suitable school building, including dormitory facilities, funds came from America in November, 1874, and building operations began.³⁸

FORMAL OPENING JUNE 1, 1875

Ferris Seminary was formally opened on June 1, 1875. The

³⁷ SKMH letter, November 6, 1872.

³⁸ Sangster, M. E., *Manual of the Missions of the RCA*, p. 268.

plant consisted of a large dwelling house providing class rooms and also dormitory accommodations for forty boarding students. Some fifteen or twenty girls were enrolled the first year.³⁹

MUSIC EMPHASIZED

"From the first, music was made a specialty in the school, the older girls learning to play the melodeon and organ and before long playing the hymns at the Japanese Church service. The school soon gained a wide reputation and became famous throughout Japan. Pupils began to come from distant provinces."⁴⁰

AMERICANIZATION AVOIDED

As far back as 1875 the Principal of Ferris Seminary, Mrs. E. R. Miller (formerly Miss Mary E. Kidder), carefully avoided the Americanization of the pupils.

"I have not changed my mind about the manner of living of the girls. I am sure that it is better that they should not be so educated as that they cannot live in their own houses, and it will be a long time before the Japanese can afford to live in a foreign style. I wish to have them sit on chairs and eat with knife and fork at tables, but to sleep on their thick comfortables on the soft mats that are to be put into their rooms; to dress in the native dress, which is pretty, more becoming to them, and much cheaper than ours; to eat Japanese food (with the exception of meat soups which I think will make them stronger); it will only cost about three dollars apiece per month. I have fixed that as the price per month, and the girls furnish their own comfortables and pillows for sleeping. The rate for the day pupils is one dollar per month. The boarding pupils pay nothing for tuition, as I wish to encourage boarding pupils, and discourage day pupils, the influence is so much greater over the former."⁴¹

Her successor, the Rev. E. S. Booth, who served as principal of Ferris Seminary for forty years, expressed a similar view in the following extract from his letter to the Board under date of July 16, 1885:

"I believe it is wrong to use mission money in the cultivation of extravagant tastes, even in the diet of the Japanese, so long as the people cannot afford to indulge in it themselves. . . . I think it a better policy for us to follow the people's leadings in such directions, rather than to force an interest."⁴²

³⁹ Booth, E. S., in *Japan Evangelist*, December, 1900, p. 387.

⁴⁰ Chamberlain, Mrs. W. I., *50 Years in Foreign Fields*, p. 31.

⁴¹ Mrs. ERM letter, February 10, 1875, in *Christian Intelligencer*, April 22, 1875.

⁴² ESB letter, July 18, 1885.

USE OF VERNACULAR IN TEACHING GENERAL SUBJECTS

In 1881 Mr. Booth wrote against continuing the use of English in teaching general school subjects in Ferris Seminary:

"The time and strength spent in teaching the Japanese English as the medium of instruction in other branches cannot be compensated for by any advantage, real or imaginary, accruing therefrom. Although it is the prevailing system at present, yet I believe it is a wrong one. It requires a protracted course of study running over a period of from six to eight years to complete. And two other disadvantages arise. One is that not one pupil in ten is able or willing to complete the course, except she be supported by foreign money. And consequently, the second evil arises, viz., self-supporting schools under the present system are quite impossible." . . . (In the vernacular) "the same curriculum could be accomplished in half the time, and I believe nine-tenths of the pupils who enter would finish the course."⁴³

EDUCATIONAL IDEALS

Principal Booth refused to believe that the religious purpose of Ferris Seminary should become an obstacle to the school's highest development as an educational institution. He was ambitious to learn the best methods and make Ferris Seminary a model school:

"I feel, provided this is to be my work in this country, that I need the opportunity of acquainting myself with some of the new methods of teaching which are being now so successfully applied in the States. Please do not misunderstand me, I appreciate fully your remark that the 'end of our work is spiritual and not educational in the ordinary sense,' and I have this ever before me. And it is only that this end may be the most fully realized possible that I seek to make the educational features of this school equal at least to any in Japan.

"I cannot content myself with a course which will require us to pay a few pupils for the privileges of filling them with spiritual truth, and who would have no higher appreciation of their privileges than the loaves and fishes they were receiving. If, however, we can make this a popular educational center, we can, by the blessing of God, make it a spiritual power that will revolutionize the whole social fabric of Japan. . . .

"My object is to afford the best possible facilities for the physical and intellectual training and Christian culture of the largest possible number of girls."⁴⁴

PREJUDICES AGAINST CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

Some of the prejudices against Christians which had to be overcome by the missionaries are revealed in the following story with which Mr. Booth used to regale visitors in later times:

⁴³ ESB letter, November 22, 1881.

⁴⁴ ESB letter, April 27, 1885.

"A father of one of the pupils from the interior visited the school on one occasion, and asked if he might see the school. His conduct seemed somewhat peculiar, for he wanted to be shown every nook and corner. Finally, he addressed the matron in the most confidential manner, saying that he had been told by a Buddhist priest that the foreigners, at the school where his daughter was, had been sent out from their country to obtain a very precious drug, which could only be obtained from the bodies of Japanese girls; that it was very costly, and that was why they could put up such fine schools, and take pupils at such low rates. 'Tell me, truly,' said he, 'for you too are a Japanese, you must know of this, if it is true. Do these foreigners attach a machine to the bodies of the pupils while they sleep?'" ⁴⁵

CONCERNING GOVERNMENT RECOGNITION

In 1895 Mr. Booth made a formal application to secure full government recognition for the Primary Department of Ferris Seminary, but later withdrew the application when he learned what was involved. His explanation follows:

"The request could be granted only on condition that no distinctive Christian instruction should be given the pupils. And when told that Sabbath observance, attendance at church, and morning and evening prayers would be interpreted as giving Christian instruction, the request for government recognition was, of course, withdrawn. This may be considered a direct proof of the government's fear even to appear to recognize Christianity in education, whatever may have been said abroad to the contrary." ⁴⁶

Apparently Dr. Booth never again sought government recognition, fearing that it would hamper him not only in giving Christian instruction, but also in carrying out his ideals for the school. Up to the last his aim was to make Ferris Seminary a distinctive school with a character of its own, rather than an imitation of the rigid pattern afforded by the government school. He was jealous of the privilege of putting in as electives subjects which he thought would be useful to the girls. For many years he maintained a Higher Course in English. This qualified girls not only for missionary helpers in evangelistic work for women and children, but also for English teachers and for clerks in exporting firms. For a time Dr. Booth taught a typewriting class, as he recognized a demand for it. There were business men in Yokohama and Tokyo who chose the Ferris graduates in preference to the regular commercial school graduates because they found the

⁴⁵ Booth, E. S., *Japan Evangelist*, December, 1900, p. 390.

⁴⁶ Report of Board of Foreign Missions, 1896, p. 33.

Ferris girls better acquainted with foreign customs and more proficient in English. On the other hand, because Ferris Seminary had only partial government recognition as a private school, its graduates did not enjoy the advantages of the graduates of the government schools when it came to seeking admission into higher government institutions. Under the principalship of the Rev. L. J. Shafer, the new Ferris Seminary secured full government recognition, and at the same time maintained its traditional Bible teaching.

A VISIT FROM THE GOVERNMENT INSPECTORS

The "Mission Field" for September, 1902 carries an article entitled, "Ferris Seminary Officially Scrutinized," from which the following is quoted:

First, the writer relates how the school was visited by a Councilor of Education from Tokyo and his Secretary, two School Inspectors, the Secretary of the local Board of Education and several Principals of local schools—nine men in all. "They spent two hours here," he writes, "going through every detail of the school—the status required, the methods pursued, the textbooks used, the number of teachers on the staff, and the accomplishments—physical, practical and æsthetic."

He tells how the school was complimented on the success of its methods in physical culture, etc. Further, "they spoke appreciatively of our work in English language study and also of the talent our pupils exhibited in drawing. Our success in music instruction had attracted attention, and they expressed a desire that we would let them see our methods particularly in that branch."

MISS KUYPER SUCCEEDS DR. BOOTH AS PRINCIPAL

Dr. Booth retired in 1922, in accordance with the retiring rules of the mission, after having given more than forty years of service to Ferris Seminary. He had been decorated by the Emperor in 1918 for his services for women's education. In appreciation of his services, the alumnae, pupils and teachers of the school gave him at the time of his retirement a purse of Yen 5,000 (\$2,500). Miss Jennie M. Kuyper, who had been connected with the mission since 1905, became principal by vote of the mission. Thus in September, 1922 there was a return to the ideal of a woman principal for the school, which had been thoroughly discussed some four decades previously when Mr. Booth was officially appointed principal of Ferris Seminary. At that time no lady suitable for the position could be found. Miss Kuy-

per's idea of education is found in a Commencement Address made by her in the spring of 1923:

"The whole purpose of education is to learn how to live, and it seeks to teach what life is, what it demands of you, how you can meet these demands, and what the real goal is." ⁴⁷

The school continued to prosper under Miss Kuyper's leadership until the holocaust following the earthquake of September, 1923, when her life was added to the total loss of the entire Ferris Seminary plant.

REBUILDING FERRIS SEMINARY

While the question of rebuilding was being considered, and some members of the mission were urging that the school be discontinued, the Japanese alumnæ of the school brought forward their fund of Yen 18,000 (\$9,000) to be used for temporary buildings. Four hundred students applied for admission. Under these circumstances, when the Board learned the situation, it cabled to proceed with temporary buildings, and provided an additional eighteen thousand yen for this purpose. The rally of the alumnæ and friends of the school after the earthquake and fire was a remarkable demonstration of the large place the school held in the hearts of the people. Thirteen of the 630 students enrolled at the time of the earthquake lost their lives; 2 teachers died as a result of the hardships following the disaster, and 10 of the teachers lost everything they had by fire. The response to the appeal for funds for a new plant was met in a manner that exceeded the expectations of the missionaries. More than Yen 66,000 (\$33,000) for the new plant came from Japanese sources; that is, from the Supporters' Association and the Alumnæ Association of Ferris Seminary. In addition to the construction of buildings, additional land was purchased to the value of nearly Yen 82,000 (\$41,000). Through the gifts of the American churches and especially of a devoted American patroness of education in the East, a splendid new plant was constructed of reinforced concrete. The Rev. L. J. Shafer, who had been engaged in evangelistic and educational work in the mission since 1912, was elected principal. In June, 1930, when the main building was

⁴⁷ Christian Intelligencer, May 23, 1923.

dedicated, the alumnæ of the school invited to Japan at their expense the Rev. E. S. Booth, for forty years principal of the school, and Mrs. Booth. In Japan Dr. Booth was given a gift of Yen 200 (\$100) by the Alumnæ Association. The large amounts provided by the alumnæ and friends of Ferris Seminary are the more significant when it is borne in mind that the institution has always been managed by a foreign mission, and through a foreign principal. In the constitution of the school it is provided that the mission shall elect all seven members of the board, but the Alumnæ Association is invited to nominate annually three persons as candidates for the directorship. The other four directors are missionaries.⁴⁸

GROWTH OF THE SCHOOL

A few figures are given to show the growth of Ferris Seminary, as it became more widely known. In 1890 there were 104 students, of whom 48 were Christians. Only 5 of these students were in the Academic Department. Sixty-six were in the Grammar School Department, which covered four years. There were 19 in the Preparatory Department, 9 in the Primary School, and 5 in the Kindergarten. A range of ten years' schooling was thus provided at that time. There were 5 foreign and 8 native teachers. There were 18 alumnæ reported; 12 of the grammar school and 6 of the academic department.⁴⁹ As already indicated, in 1923 before the earthquake, the school had an enrollment of 630 pupils. There was a great drop in student attendance after the earthquake, for it was a number of years before Yokohama regained its lost population, scattered to the ends of the Empire by the great disaster. The mission thought it was a good time to hold down Ferris Seminary to a medium-sized school. At its annual meeting in 1925 the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas it is the judgment of this mission that in educational work the best spiritual results are secured in schools of comparatively small enrollment," etc.

"That the school be limited to 350 pupils," etc.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Report Board Foreign Missions, 1923 and 1924, and Appendix, Standing Rules, Mission.

⁴⁹ Ritter, *History of Protestant Missions*, p. 176. The word "alumnæ" used here must mean graduates, for there must have been a much larger number of the students who had gone out from the school since 1871.

⁵⁰ SWR letter, July 25, 1925.

This resolution was not followed in practice, however, as the following table of statistics shows. The Deputation of the Board, meeting with the mission in 1930, approved an increase of appropriation for the school to Yen 10,000 (\$5,000) annually, by the end of the readjustment period.

STATISTICS OF ATTENDANCE

Below is a table showing the attendance at Ferris Seminary at five-year intervals, also the percentage of Christians in the student body, where figures were available:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Students</i>	<i>Number of Christians</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
1885.....	63.....	20.....	31.7
1890.....	104.....	48.....	46.1
1895.....	82.....	31.....	37.8
1900.....	69.....	36.....	52.1
1905.....	174.....	81.....	46.5
1910.....	196.....	49.....	25.0
1915.....	212.....	43.....	20.2
1920.....	402		
1925.....	425		
1929.....	359.....	59.....	16.4
1930.....	400		

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FERRIS SEMINARY THE OLDEST MISSION SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

Before passing from the subject of Ferris Seminary, the situation regarding the priority of girls' schools in Japan should be cleared up. Ferris Seminary has often been referred to as the oldest girls' school in Japan. But Mr. Jinzo Naruse, President of the Nippon Women's University, Tokyo, calls attention to the fact that the clan governments opened up schools for girls in 1871-1872. Up to that time it had been the custom to educate girls in their homes. In the list of several Protestant schools established for girls, the first he mentions is Ferris Seminary. With reference to these Protestant girls' schools he adds:

"In writing the history of female education in the Meiji Era these institutions should be credited with having proved powerful agents for disseminating new western knowledge and the English language among the daughters of the land."⁵²

⁵¹ Annual Reports, Board of Foreign Missions, respective years and pages as follows: 1886, p. 79; 1891, p. 73; 1896, p. 33; 1901, p. 55; 1906, p. 65; 1911, p. 121; 1916, p. 102; 1921, p. 96; 1926, p. 60; 1930, p. 60; 1931, p. 57.

⁵² Naruse, Jinzo, Chapter XI in Okuma's 50 Years of New Japan, pp. 204, 205.

Furthermore, Baron Kikuchi writes that the Meiji Government established a girls' school in 1872 in Tokyo, in which, besides the ordinary subjects of common education, English was taught by an American woman teacher. This school was afterwards amalgamated with the Female Normal School of Tokyo.⁵³ The claim of Ferris Seminary to be called the first Protestant school for girls in Japan, under a continuous single management, seems to be clearly established.⁵⁴ This position is strengthened when it is borne in mind that five years before the Ferris Seminary was formally organized on June 1, 1875, it had existed as a regular school under the same principal.

GIRLS' SCHOOLS: (B) STURGES SEMINARY (LATER BAIKO JO GAKUIN).

A GIRLS' SCHOOL IN NAGASAKI

The early and persistent attempts of the Rev. Mr. Stout to establish theological and academic schools in Nagasaki were reviewed in the first part of this chapter. He and Mrs. Stout also had the ambition to establish a girls' school there. As early as December 14, 1872, Mr. Stout wrote to the Secretary of the Foreign Board in New York:

"The girls' school about which I wrote you last month has really come into existence, and comprises ten pupils in daily attendance with a promise of two more.

"These girls come to our house every afternoon and my wife teaches them for an hour or two. They are quite young and there is hope of their being under Christian influence from an age and during a time sufficient to influence their lives. But our hopes go far beyond this.

"We need a lady missionary immediately," etc.

In regard to the matter of support, "the Japanese have not been educated up to spending their money on education, and it will take some time before they will be able to realize that money given for education of girls is a good investment."

This promising beginning, however, had to be given up with the coming of the summer of 1874 because of the sheer physical exhaustion of Mrs. Stout.

⁵³ Kikuchi, Baron, *Japanese Education*, pp. 67, 72, 271.

⁵⁴ Mention should be made of the Joshi Gakuin, Presbyterian Girls' School in Tokyo. This was formed in 1890 by uniting Mrs. Sakurai's school begun in 1874 and Graham Seminary begun in 1871 by Mrs. Carrothers. (Historical Sketches of the Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. A., 4th ed. Womens' Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, 1897).

OBSTACLES OVERCOME

In 1876 the Women's Board in New York experienced difficulty in securing women to go as teachers to Japan. At length they decided to postpone the erection of buildings until suitable missionary teachers could be found. In 1878 two sisters volunteered for the work and sailed to Nagasaki. Their health broke down, however, and they were obliged to return to America the following year. Meanwhile, Mrs. Stout did not give up hope, but taught as large classes as her strength would allow. Urgent requests were sent to the Board, in response to which some reinforcements in personnel were actually received. But new recruits were obliged to spend a year or two in language study before they were of much use in the work. It was not until 1887 that the long-looked-for buildings for Sturges Seminary were actually erected.

MR. STOUT'S IDEAS ON EDUCATION

Mr. Stout had some very definite ideas about education. He maintained that an education should be useful and appropriate for the student's position in life. In one of his letters to the Board Secretary he tells how an English education for Japanese girls often turns out:

"I once heard an old man lament that while he understood that his daughter had made quite a reputation for writing letters in English to America, he had to bang his head in shame for the wretched Japanese she used in her letters to him."⁵⁵

Like the principals of Ferris Seminary, he would avoid the Americanization of his pupils:

"The school could be made a success on its simple merits, as a school in which the teachers were scholarly and capable, where the pupils were not denationalized, but receive a training in Japanese scholarship, supplemented by English, the sciences, music and various useful arts which as yet foreigners only are supposed to be able to teach successfully.

"Then I trust that it may be arranged so that the school shall avoid the reputation of being a public benefit establishment or sort of almshouse. I do not think it is objectionable to assist those who are connected with us as helpers, or even perhaps some of our church members by taking their children to educate them, when they can explain and appreciate the reasons for so do-

⁵⁵ HS letter, August 23, 1883.

ing. But when it is published abroad that everybody applying can become a beneficiary, the school is degraded in the eyes of all those who have any independence whatever."

"It is deplorable that Christianity is regarded in some way a pecuniary aid society."

If such an ideal school as described above would not work, it would be easy to return to the "hot-house" style of school.⁵⁶

STURGES SEMINARY FORMALLY OPENED

Finally, in the autumn of 1887, the new girls' school, called Sturges Seminary, was formally opened along with a boys' school, called The Steele Memorial School. In 1891 the school was put in charge of a Japanese principal, and his management proved very satisfactory. The attendance, however, was never large. In 1890 thirty girls were enrolled.⁵⁷

UNITED WITH PRESBYTERIAN SCHOOL

By 1897 the thirty students of Sturges Seminary had increased to sixty, of whom half were boarders. The Japanese principal seemed to be all that could be desired in a principal, but progress was slow. The fact became apparent that there were too many girls' schools in Nagasaki to afford a promising future. In 1912, therefore, negotiations were carried on with the Presbyterian Mission to unite Sturges Seminary with the Presbyterian Girls' School at Yamaguchi. It was decided to leave both old sites and select what appeared to be a much more promising location, at Shimonoseki, a city about midway between the locations of the schools. Here a fine site, on a high hill overlooking the city of Shimonoseki and the Straits separating the main island of Hondo from the southern Island of Kyushu, was purchased. The new union school opened April 10, 1914, with about one hundred pupils. The Rev. Mr. Hirotsu, former principal of the Sturges Seminary, was elected principal of the union school. The new school was called Baiko Jo Gakuin, which, literally translated, means Plum-light Girls' Educational Institution. The character "Bai" came from the Japanese name for the Sturges Seminary, and the "Ko" from the Japanese name of the Presbyterian

⁵⁶ HS letter, August 10, 1881.

⁵⁷ Report of Missionary Conference, 1900, p. 778; Sangster, *Manual of Foreign Missions of the RCA*, pp. 311, 312; Amerman, J. L., *Sketch of the Japan Mission*, p. 15; Chamberlain, Mrs. W. I., *50 Years in Foreign Fields*, p. 61; *Sketch of the South Japan Mission*, pp. 13, 17-19.

school at Yamaguchi. Under the capable leadership of Mr. Hirotsu, the school has not only made good progress in growth, but has also gained a very favourable reputation locally as a progressive institution. In 1930 the enrollment was nearly four hundred students. The school is managed by a board of directors of nine members, made up of three Presbyterian missionaries, three Reformed missionaries and three Japanese. It enjoys full government recognition as a girls' high school.

STATISTICS OF ATTENDANCE

The statistics inserted below will serve to show the attendance at five-year intervals since the establishment of Sturges Seminary in 1887. The number of Christians has been added where figures were obtainable.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Students</i>	<i>Number of Christians</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Number Baptized during the School Year</i>	
1887.....	17.....	4.....	23.5.....	1	
1890.....	30.....	10.....	33.3		
1895.....	52.....	22.....	42.3.....	4	
1900.....	55.....	22 abt....	40.0.....	6	
1905.....	78.....	22.....	28.2.....	6	
1910.....	62.....	21.....	33.8.....	7	
1915.....	130.....	56.....	43.0.....	15	
1920.....	220.....			20	
1925.....	336.....	103.....	30.6.....	36	
1929.....	382.....			13	
1930.....				25	58

THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL SYSTEM

A consideration of the government's attitude towards the mission schools, and of the missionaries' attitude toward the government schools, will bring to light certain forces that operated to make mission schools in Japan what they became.

THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD MISSION SCHOOLS

It was no small task that the government undertook in 1872 to make over the traditional educational system of the feudal age into a compulsory, universal, modern occidental school system. Parenthetically, attention should here be called to the fact that

⁵⁸ Reports of Board of Foreign Missions for years and with pages as follows: 1888, pp. 82, 83; 1891, p. 80; 1896, p. 46; 1901, p. 82; 1906, pp. 79, 80; 1911, p. 134; 1916, p. 139; 1921, p. 72; 1926, p. 61; 1930, pp. 62, 95; 1931, p. 59.

the Rev. G. F. Verbeck, a member of the Reformed Church Mission, was employed as Superintendent of the college that later developed into the Tokyo Imperial University; furthermore, that David Murray, of the Reformed Church, was called by the Japanese Government to become Superintendent of Educational Affairs in the Empire of Japan and Adviser to the Imperial Japanese Minister of Education, which position he held from 1873 to 1879. But the compulsory, universal educational system could not be set up in a day; it was in fact many years before the Emperor's goal that

"in a village there shall be no house without learning, and in a house no individual without learning" ⁵⁹

could be realized. It is easy to understand, therefore, why the government was tolerant toward the mission schools springing up all over the country. The government had attempted more than it could accomplish for many years to come, and it appreciated the help of the missions in promoting general education. For a time, the Christian educators, unhampered by restricting official regulations, and enjoying an ever increasing patronage from even the highest classes of students, were free to choose whatever courses of study they deemed best. But as the government schools became numerous enough to afford more adequate facilities for educating the Japanese youth, regulations discriminating against private schools (which were mostly mission schools) were promulgated. When the anti-foreign movement swept over Japan in the eighties, the missionaries tended to model their curricula more and more after the government school pattern. This was true in the case of the Meiji Gakuin. In the 1890 report it is stated:

"The courses of study have been changed, both in the preparatory and academic departments, so as to conform to the curricula of the government schools of the same grade, thus fitting a full graduate to enter immediately into the Imperial University."

But the government recognition thus obtained was later lost. Commenting upon the tendency of the mission schools to imitate the government schools, a writer in the "Japan Mail" wrote in 1899:

⁵⁹ Kikuchi, Baron, *Education in Japan*, p. 69.

"Religious schools were wont to have a character of their own, but in late years, they have changed so as to resemble government schools as much as possible."⁶⁰

In following the government school curricula the mission schools diminished their characteristic emphasis on English subjects, and the time came within a few years when the mission schools were satisfied with their departments of English if they did not fall below the standard of the government schools. Meanwhile various measures against mission schools were considered in Japan, such as barring all foreigners from founding schools in Japan, or forbidding them to teach in the schools until they had resided five years in Japan or had a speaking knowledge of the Japanese language. No such radical proposals were adopted, however, but an edict was promulgated to do away with Christian teaching in the mission schools. Along with Imperial Ordinance No. 359, published August 3, 1899, appeared a supplemental Instruction from the Educational Department signed by Count Kabayama, Minister of Education, which forbade religious instruction in mission schools in these terms:

"It is essential from the point of view of educational administration that general education should be independent of religion. Religious instruction must not be given, or religious ceremonies performed at government schools, public schools or schools whose curricula are regulated by the provisions of law, even outside the regular course of instruction."⁶¹

Dr. A. K. Reischauer explains the result of this regulation on mission schools:

Institutions which did not conform to these regulations were compelled to surrender certain privileges. The most important of these privileges having to do with middle schools were the following:

- (1) Postponement of military service to a certain age.
- (2) Entrance into government colleges and universities upon graduation.
- (3) Transfer of students from non-conforming private schools to government recognized schools.

(4) The name *Chu Gakko* (Middle School) could not be used. As a result of this government regulation a few of the Christian schools went out of existence at once. A few conformed to the requirements, and made religious instruction voluntary, and in some cases gave religious instruction outside of the buildings. Most of the Christian schools, however,

⁶⁰ Quoted in *Japan Evangelist*, November, 1899, pp. 328, 329.

⁶¹ *Japan Evangelist*, August-September, 1919, p. 279.

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as one of the ind-
of the government

⁶² Reischauer, A. K.,
⁶³ Encyclopædia Britanica

er, refused to conform and lost the privileges mentioned. The Meiji
uin of the Reformed and Presbyterian Missions was the first school
decide to give up government recognition, and it took the lead in
otiations with the government authorities. After persistent efforts on
part of the Japanese Christians connected with the mission schools,
sting on their rights as citizens, the government gradually yielded and
e back one after another of the privileges taken away. Thus the Chris-
schools eventually secured the same privileges enjoyed by the govern-
at schools.⁶²

The last statement made by Dr. Reischauer needs some ex-
nation. If, in practice, the mission schools "secured the same
privileges enjoyed by government schools," it was through the
eral attitude of the government in not enforcing its regulations
ainst religious teaching, as the following quotation shows:

By a reform effected in 1916 public and private schools are given
ctically the same status, but . . . the latter are still in a somewhat
advantageous position because unless a private school brings its curri-
um into exact accord with that prescribed for public institutions of
responding grade, its students are denied the valuable privilege of
tial exemption from conscription, as well as other advantages attached
state recognition."

Public education in Japan is strictly secular; no religious teaching of
kind is permitted in the schools."⁶³

THE TEACHING OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE MISSION SCHOOLS

A little further explanation should be made about the manner
which the Christian religion is taught in mission schools. In
ny mission schools the Bible is taught in curriculum hours—
o hours a week throughout the entire course. In other cases,
Bible is introduced to supplement the subject Shushin
(morals). Daily compulsory chapel services are also held in
ny mission schools. This is often known as "Assembly." The
ssionaries do not seem to feel that they are infringing upon the
vernment regulations by this practice, because the official edu-
tional supervisors and inspectors frequently visit the schools
d raise no objection to it. The Japan Year Book for 1930
ers to this tendency to allow religious teaching in the schools
one of the indications of a growing liberal spirit on the part
the government:

Reischauer, A. K., in *Chinese Recorder*, January, 1926, pp. 9-11.
Encyclopædia Britannica, 14th edition, 1929.

"As a sign of the times it may be added that the strict injunction formerly enforced not to teach religious subjects in school rooms seems to have been somewhat modified."⁶⁴

Thus the mission schools have come to fit into the Japanese scheme of education without losing their religious teaching. Perhaps their readiness to fit into the government school mould in other respects, however, has prevented them from making the unique educational contribution that would seem possible and appropriate for Westerners to make in such a country as Japan.

ATTITUDE OF THE MISSIONARIES TOWARD THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

The references to government schools found in the letters of the missionaries are generally favourable. As early as 1875—only three years after a compulsory, universal system of education was begun—one of the missionaries of the Reformed Church Mission wrote:

"the facilities afforded for education by the government schools are gradually becoming better than what missionaries can afford to give, so that general instruction in English (by missionaries) will soon doubtless no longer be required. It is not sought at our hands even now as formerly."⁶⁵

On the other hand, many Japanese students chose mission schools in order to get Americans for their teachers in English. In Steele Academy when it was necessary on one occasion to substitute a Japanese English teacher for an American,

Sixteen of the students arose and expressed their intentions of leaving the school unless they could be taught their reading by a foreigner. For, they said, if we are taught English by a Japanese, we might as well go to a Japanese school.⁶⁶

About a dozen years later another missionary wrote indicating some things that the Nagasaki mission school should do to keep up with the local government schools.

"These schools," he writes, "are fast taking hold of American methods of teaching, and are learning to use apparatus with great facility." After describing their laboratories, he concludes: "We also ought to have these things. I know it may be difficult for mission schools to keep abreast

⁶⁴ Japan Year Book, 1930, p. 164.

⁶⁵ HS letter, January 15, 1875.

⁶⁶ AO letter, January 10, 1888.

with government schools that have a nation's treasury to draw their funds from. But certainly we must conform ourselves as much as possible to the conditions by which we are surrounded." ⁶⁷

The above letter plainly shows that the missionary writer felt that the school at Nagasaki was behind the government schools there in educational facilities. Some score of years later the principal of the Nagasaki school was given the opportunity by his mission to visit some twenty-five schools throughout Japan. In his report to the mission dated March 18, 1910, he made some striking comparisons of government and mission schools, generally to the detriment of the latter. He was particularly impressed with the fine equipment, strong teaching staffs and strict military discipline of the government schools. He was not so favourably impressed with the mission schools visited (including his own). He concluded his report:

"As I went about on this trip, I could not help but feel that the reason why mission schools have no better reputation is because they do not deserve it. We ought either to bring our schools up to the standard, or else go out of business." ⁶⁸

Here again the model for the mission schools is found in the government schools. Several letters of the missionaries, however, express lament at the inadequacy of the teaching of morals in the government schools. Doubtless unconsciously the missionaries compared the teaching of morals (*shushin*) in the government schools with the teaching of the Bible and Christianity in the mission schools, and such comparison was to the disadvantage of the former. Professedly, the center of the system of Japanese morals is patriotism, and the missionaries generally regarded patriotism an inadequate motivation for morality.

JAPANESE EDUCATORS ON THEIR MORAL EDUCATION

It should be added that Japanese Christians, as well as missionaries—some of them very influential—have criticized adversely the moral teaching in the government school system. Bishop Yoichi Honda, writing in Count Okuma's "Fifty Years of New Japan," makes the following statements concerning the nationalistic education:

⁶⁷ AO letter, July 20, 1887.

⁶⁸ Report of AW to the South Japan Mission, March 18, 1910.

The educational ideal of promoting loyalty and patriotism has failed because it was too mechanical. At first the attitude of the students was quite serious, but as it was dinned into their ears, it ultimately evoked dislike.

"The advocates of nationalist education were thus driven to appreciate the bankruptcy of their own principle, and though they would not confess it, they changed their old policy of expelling the Christian religion from the school precincts, and began even to some extent to welcome its teachers."⁶⁹

The Hon. S. Ebara, member of the House of Peers, after pointing out the admirable qualities of the government educational system as a system, with its administration, is reported to have said:

But there is something lacking in the practical education which hinders the development of the moral sense of the rising generation. Education must go hand in hand with religion. Without true religion education is so handicapped that it is next to impossible to attain the all-round development of humanity.⁷⁰

Dr. I. Nitobe, Professor in the Imperial University of Tokyo, and the first exchange professor to the United States, while approving the separation of education from religion, agrees with Dr. Ebara that religion is necessary in making education complete. He says it must be remembered that

"national education is only a part of education in its true sense. A child must be made a member of society or humanity, as well as a member of a nation. This human training ranks first among all trainings, and the true religion, Christianity, provides the means for the most important branch of culture."⁷¹

OTHER WEAKNESSES OF THE JAPANESE SYSTEM

By way of suggestion as to what the mission schools in Japan might aim to provide the student, a final quotation is made below from Professor Nitobe, in which he pointed out in 1912 some of the weaknesses of the Japanese government school system:

"I am afraid that our educational plan and the system of competitive examination for every advancement have a very cramping effect upon the intellect and character. The value of education comes to be measured by the facility it gives to the attainment of success in examinations. People study, not for the sake of knowledge, but to answer examina-

⁶⁹ Okuma, Count, *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Vol. II, pp. 98, 99.

⁷⁰ *Christian Intelligencer*, July 14, 1915.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

tion questions. The men who can write the best examination papers are the heroes among the students." . . .

Higher studies are pursued primarily with us for utilitarian purposes, to get positions, to earn bread . . . Culture in a broad, lofty sense is entirely neglected. In the universities and in higher or technical schools there is but little moral influence exerted in any form. Personal intercourse between professors and students is as good as nil.⁷²

Since the above was written the increasing competition among students for admission to the higher schools has made conditions even worse.

THE GOVERNMENT'S SLANT ON COEDUCATION

Whether it be a weakness or merely a limitation, the fact that the government discountenances coeducation of the sexes should be noted. According to the regulations of 1900 the following distinction is made with regard to sexes :

"Having regard for the different characteristics of the sexes and of the difference in their future life, instruction must be appropriate to each.

"In ordinary elementary schools when the number of girls in any one year is sufficient to form a class, they shall be enrolled in one class separate from the boys. In the first and second years, however, this rule may be disregarded.

"This shows that we have decided against coeducation."⁷³

In general, at the present time, the primary schools of Japan are coeducational, but in the secondary stage of education, the boys and girls attend separate schools.⁷⁴

THE GOVERNMENT GIRLS' SCHOOLS

LAG IN WOMEN'S EDUCATION

There were no regular ordinances for girls' schools, even as to the subjects to be taught, until 1895. The first Imperial Ordinance relating to girls' schools was issued in 1899. It was revised in 1901, and again in 1908. "To give higher general education necessary for women" is the object of women's education, as expressed in the Imperial Ordinance. The girls' high school course generally extends over four years. But the grade of these "high schools" is several years below that of the so-called

⁷² Nitobe, I., *The Japanese Nation*, pp. 196-199.

⁷³ Kikuchi, Baron, *Education in Japan*, p. 131.

⁷⁴ Nitobe, I., *Western Influences*, p. 51.

"higher schools" for boys.⁷⁵ Morals and music are included in the regular curriculum in girls' schools. Baron Kikuchi concludes his chapter on girls' high schools with a paragraph beginning:

"It will be seen from the above that although the number of schools has increased at a rapid rate, yet it has been insufficient to keep pace with the demand for admission."⁷⁶

Professor Nitobe, writing a little later—in 1912—commented on the backwardness of the Japanese government in providing adequate facilities for the higher education of women:

"A curious fact hard to account for in so progressive a government as ours, is the chronic reluctance it has shown to the higher education of women. Its function in this respect seems to have been confined to a tardy recognition of work done by private enterprise. At present, therefore, there are private institutions of excellent reputation, the so-called Women's University under Mr. Naruse, Miss Tsuda's English School, and two or three well-equipped seminaries under missionary management doing work such as the government has failed to make possible by its own initiative and on its own responsibility."⁷⁷

GROWING LIBERAL ATTITUDE

Under the feudal regime terminating in 1868 the education for girls was generally limited to what they could learn in their homes. With the installation of the occidental educational system in the Meiji Era, no attempt was made to offer to girls the school facilities provided for boys. Many prominent Japanese believed that the Western education would unfit Japanese girls for their home duties. This belief was rationalized by various lines of argument, as the following quotation shows:

The conservatives pointed with scorn to the girl whose new ideas got her into trouble, or to one whose health was "broken down by the adverse conditions surrounding her student life, and said, 'This will be the case with all our women if we continue this insane practice of educating them along the new lines.'

"In 1889, partly through ill-advised conduct on the part of supporters of the cause, one of the most serious reverses that has come in the progress of Western education for women began to show itself. The reaction was helped along by a paper read before some of the most influential men of Japan, and subsequently reported and discussed in the newspapers, by a German professor in the medical department of the

⁷⁵ Kikuchi, Baron, *Japanese Education*, pp. 271-273; 276-277.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 280, 281.

⁷⁷ Nitobe, L., *The Japanese Nation*, p. 185.

Imperial University in Tokyo. The paper was a serious warning to the men of the country that no women could be good wives, mothers, and housekeepers and at the same time have undergone a thorough literary education. The arguments were reinforced by statistics showing that American college women either did not marry, or that if they married they had a very few children. All Japan took fright at this alarming showing, and for several years the education of girls in anything more than the primary studies was not encouraged by the government. The lowest depth of this reaction was reached during or soon after the Japan-China war, when the growth of national vanity resulted in a temporary disdain for all foreign ideas."⁷⁸

Another quotation is made which refers back to this attitude at this time. It also shows how that ultra-conservative attitude toward Western education for girls and even against Christianity was outgrown:

"Twenty years ago the Japanese government had done practically nothing for female education. A Japanese university professor, speaking then upon the subject of the higher education of women, openly said that he despised it himself, but that Japan must have a university for women in order to save its face. He didn't care whether there were any women in it or not, but they must have it, to show to visitors when they came. This was their attitude then. Three years later, they began a women's university in Tokyo, and it was Viscount Mori, the Minister of Education, who said that he wanted of all things, Christian women for teachers."⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Bacon, Alice M., *Japanese Girls and Women*, pp. 433-435.

⁷⁹ *Christian Intelligencer*, April 4, 1917, p. 212.

CHAPTER III

THE MISSION AND ITS RELATION TO OTHER GROUPS

(I) ORGANIZATION AND RULES

REQUIREMENTS OF THE MANUAL OF THE BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

ORGANIZATION

When three or more missionaries are located in the same field they are required by the Manual of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America to organize themselves into a mission by choosing a president, secretary and treasurer. No national shall be a member or take part in the action of such mission.

APPLICATIONS OF NATIONALS REJECTED

In 1882 two Japanese educated in America—at Hope College and at the New Brunswick Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church—applied to the Board of Foreign Missions in New York to be sent to Japan as missionaries. This was reported to the mission in Japan. A strong protest—apparently unanimous—was sent by the Japan Mission against the appointment of these two Japanese to represent the American churches. The following reasons were advanced:

Such men could not enjoy the full confidence of either the native Christians or of the missionaries.

Other missions in Japan had tried this plan and it had proved a failure. (It is explained that Niishima of the American Board Mission was not commissioned in America as a regular missionary. He was employed by the Japan Mission, and had no voice in its deliberations.)

The salary of American missionaries would be from six to ten times as much as other Japanese of the same education were receiving in Japan.

It would be unfair to give these two Japanese educated in America the status and salary of regular missionaries, without giving them also to some of their fellow Japanese who had been studying longer and working for the mission for some years in Japan.¹

VOTING

The first requisite for voting in the mission is a residence of at least a year on the field and the passing of the first-year lan-

¹ JLA letter, January 14, 1882.

guage examination prescribed by the mission. Regularly appointed missionaries include men, married or single, and single ladies or widows. Married ladies are designated associated missionaries. (They may be given the right to vote by a majority vote of the mission members only when they have passed the first-year language examination and are given a regular assignment of work from the mission. Assignment of work is made to wives and mothers only when their household obligations admit of it.)

RESTRICTIONS ON MISSIONARIES

No missionary may accept any consular or other appointment, or do any other work outside the mission without having first obtained the approval of the mission and of the Board. Missionaries are warned not to interfere with the political affairs and institutions of the people among whom they labour and to avoid law-suit complications.

RIGHTS OF MISSIONARIES

Missionaries are given the right of appeal to the Board from any decision of the mission, according to a prescribed course of procedure.

STANDING RULES

"Each mission shall be at liberty and is advised to adopt such system of rules as in its judgment is best calculated to promote the regularity, economy and effectiveness of its work, provided that nothing in such system or particular rules shall in any way conflict with the rules of the Board as contained in the Manual. Copies of the same should be sent to the Board for its information."

COMITY

"It is a principle with the Board that its missions and missionaries seek to maintain friendly relations with those of other Societies, and especially that they associate themselves as closely as possible with those of like faith and order, laboring in the same field."²

THE MISSION'S FINANCES

DISBURSEMENTS OF FUNDS THROUGH THE MISSIONARIES

The Treasurer is one of the three important officers of the mission. In the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church the

² Manual of the Board of Foreign Missions of the RCA, 1909, pp. 24, 33-36.

Treasurer receives monthly drafts from the Board in New York, sells them at a local bank and makes payments approved by vote of the mission. The missionaries send in to the Mission Treasurer monthly requests for funds, itemizing salaries, rent, and other such allowances for themselves, and also requests for appropriations for the work in their charge. In the case of the schools the Mission Treasurer sends the amount of the monthly appropriation directly to the school treasurer. In the South Japan Mission for many years the missionary in evangelistic work drew from the Treasurer each month for mission work all the amounts needed to pay the salaries and other allowances, including traveling expenses, of the evangelists in his field, and also the sums needed for rents and repairs of church buildings. These appropriations for mission work the missionary in turn remitted to the evangelists and others concerned. About 1915 some members of the mission agitated for a change in this system. They advocated the election of a missionary treasurer for the entire evangelistic work who would receive a lump sum each month from the Mission Treasurer and make payments directly to the evangelists and other Japanese in charge of mission work. Some missionaries protested against such a change. They claimed that their individual payments of the salaries to the workers in their charge gave them a desirable leverage upon such workers. They could insist on work being done in ways they specified; they could bring pressure to bear upon the workers if they did not get in their monthly reports on time. With the increasing tendency to share the management of the work with the Japanese, however, this measure was soon adopted, and it has been regarded by the mission as an advance step in the administration of funds.

SUBSIDIZED WORK

In connection with the union of the North and South Japan Missions, and the carrying out of their new policy of concentrating as much as possible of the evangelistic work in the southern island of Kyushu, four churches of the mission in the Province of Nagano were transferred by the mission to the Home Mission Board of the "Church of Christ in Japan," with annual subsidies arranged on a diminishing scale over a period of years. After a conference between the representatives of the mission and the

Japanese church, the latter agreed that a subsidy of Yen 10,000 (\$5,000) would be sufficient to carry these churches to the stage of self-support, and consequent independence. There is one other case where the mission paid a subsidy to carry on certain work. This was the transfer in 1930 (along with the Presbyterian Mission) of the theological department of Meiji Gakuin to the Synod of the "Church of Christ in Japan," also on the basis of diminishing payments, as explained in Chapter II. There has been a general sentiment in the mission against subsidizing work. Most missionaries have felt a conscientious obligation to supervise personally the expenditures of mission appropriations. Subsidizing work has seemed to the missionaries like expending money and evading the responsibility of supervision. Hence the above two cases may be regarded as exceptions to a general policy. In both cases there were adequate reasons for making exceptions. The Nagano field was an isolated area of the mission's work. In the case of the Theological Seminary, it was considered a means of carrying out a long-cherished purpose, to transfer the Seminary to the Japanese Church. Recently there has been discussion in the mission looking to the transfer of the organized church groups, in various stages of development, now under the care of the mission, to the Japanese Church, with subsidies equaling the present cost of maintaining this work. The subsidies here would be arranged on a diminishing scale over a period of years, as agreed upon by the two parties. This would free the mission from the responsibility of administration of these church groups, perhaps a dozen in number, as the administration was turned over to the Japanese, thus releasing missionaries for new work.

THE MISSION AND ITS PERSONNEL

1889-1917—TWO MISSIONS

The Japan Mission of the Reformed Church in America was founded in 1859, as previously described, by the Brown, Simmons and Verbeck families. The organization formed at that time continued until 1889. At that time a division was made into the North and South Japan Missions. These two missions reunited in 1917. The reasons for the division appear to have been, first, the great distance between the two groups of missionaries—the one group located in Tokyo and Yokohama, and the other in

Nagasaki. These areas were about nine hundred miles apart, and resulted in making mission meetings very expensive and inconvenient as the mission personnel increased. Secondly, there were disagreements as to mission policies. Of the twenty-six missionaries and associate missionaries in the mission before the separation, nineteen were in the north and seven were in the south. There grew up a feeling in the south, as revealed in the correspondence of that time, that the northern group of missionaries found it difficult to show adequate sympathy with the interests of the south. The southern group, therefore, thought their prospects for more recruits and larger appropriations for work would be enhanced by separating from the northern group. So they requested a separation and it was granted by the Board. With the passage of the years, however, transportation facilities improved. Moreover, the southern group did not realize their expectations of attaining the size of the northern group, either as regards the number of missionaries or the amount of annual appropriations. The matter of the reunion of the North and South Japan Missions became a subject for frequent discussion and argument. These discussions were doubtless furthered by the generally recognized fact that the Board was always favourable to the idea of a single united mission in Japan. At length in 1917 the reunion was effected on a policy of concentration of the evangelistic work in the Southern Island of Kyushu.

PERSONNEL STATISTICS

A table is appended to show the numerical status of the personnel of the mission at five-year intervals from the inauguration of the work in 1859 through the year 1930.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Wives</i>	<i>Single Ladies</i>	<i>Total</i>
1860.....	2.....	2.....		4
1865.....	3.....	3.....		6
1870.....	4.....	4.....		8
1875.....	6.....	6.....	2.....	14
1880.....	7.....	7.....	3.....	17
1885.....	9.....	9.....	4.....	22
1890, No. J...	7.....	7.....	5..	19
So. J...	3.....	3.....	2..	8..... 27
1895, No. J...	7.....	7.....	5..	19
So. J...	4.....	4.....	3..	11..... 30

<i>Year</i>		<i>Men</i>	<i>Wives</i>	<i>Single Ladies</i>	<i>Total</i>
1900,	No. J...	6.....	6.....	6.. 18	
	So. J...	5.....	4.....	4.. 13.....	31
1905,	No. J...	7.....	7.....	5.. 19	
	So. J...	4.....	4.....	4.. 12.....	31
1910,	No. J...	7.....	6.....	4.. 17	
	So. J...	4.....	3.....	5.. 12.....	29
1915,	No. J...	8.....	5.....	5.. 18	
	So. J...	5.....	5.....	5.. 15.....	33
1920.....		13.....	10.....	13.....	36
1925.....		13.....	10.....	13.....	36
1930.....		12.....	9.....	11.....	32

3

THE "GENERAL" MISSIONARY

In the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church the typical male missionary has always been of the "general" pattern; that is, the man who has received the regular college course and theological training and been ordained. This general type of man, after he has learned the Japanese language and gained some experience on the field, has been regarded as capable of filling any position in the mission's work, whether in the schools or in the evangelistic fields.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SPECIALIST

With the growth of the schools in the eighties there has emerged from time to time the question of getting specialists in the field of education. This proposal was generally argued down on the ground that the specialist could not be transferred from one form of work to another at the convenience of the mission, while the "general" missionary could be shifted about as the exigencies of the work might require. One result of this policy was that the missionaries in the schools were almost without exception men without educational degrees—men who gained their educational experience in the mission's schools. By 1930, however, the mission had altered its sentiment sufficiently in this regard to approve and transmit to the Board Meiji Gakuin's re-

³ Figures through 1885 taken from *Sketch of the Japan Mission*, 1922, pp. 30, 31. From 1890 taken from *Reports of Board of Foreign Missions*, RCA, years and pages, respectively, as follows: 1891, p. 87; 1896, p. 58; 1901, p. 82; 1906, p. 103; 1911, p. 173; 1916, p. 167; 1921, p. 89; 1926, p. 68; 1931, p. 92.

quest for a specialist in sociology. But no such specialist was secured for the place.

CONTROVERSY

Such differences of attitudes and of ideas about mission policies as have already been revealed in the missionaries naturally resulted in no little controversy. A missionary who had worked a dozen years in the mission expressed himself on this subject as follows:

"I can never understand or be reconciled to the fact that there is so much friction on the field in the conduct of missionary work. I have observed and heard of lots of it, and the forbearance and tolerance of the Lord of the harvest is a constant marvel. If my family servants did not do better in their ordinary relations I would discharge the whole lot."⁴

THE IDEAL MISSIONARY

In advising Student Volunteers concerning the nature of a missionary career in Japan a member of the Reformed Church Mission clearly draws upon his experience as a member of the South Japan Mission. He advises:

"Learn to do heartily what you dislike to do. You may have to teach when you want to preach; you may have to preach when you think you have a special gift for training students. You may have to stay on the field when you want a furlough, and vice versa. The man ready and able to throw aside whims and preferences and follow the leading of Providence as voiced by a majority, is worth several of the other kind. The time to drill one's self for this kind of renunciation is while under tutors and governors at home. The better the lesson is learned then, the better the after-results on the mission field."⁵

One of the pioneers, writing June 8, 1860, for reinforcements for the Japan Mission, set a high standard:

"We want the best men as respects ability, attainments and piety that the church can produce. . . . No half-educated man, nor one who has not a good degree of tact in adapting himself to men of all sorts, nor one whose piety and enlightened views would not commend him to the best churches at home . . . should in my opinion be sent to this country."

In 1866 the same missionary further describes the kind of missionaries he desires the Secretary to send to Japan:

⁴ South Japan File, May 20, 1904.

⁵ Christian Intelligencer, July 13, 1898.

"May our Board, or rather our church, have more and better men here to meet the development of divine providence . . . good, sensible, educated, gentlemanly men, men who will command the respect of foreigners and natives, men who would make their mark at home."⁶

In writing a request for lay teachers, as contrasted with ordained "general" missionaries, an experienced member of the North Japan Mission asked the Board for

"men of pronounced evangelical spirit, as intent upon winning souls for Christ as though they had been ordained to the gospel ministry. We want men in the academic department who will regard the school as an evangelistic field of the first importance. This was Dr. Wyckoff's view and it is Mr. Hoffsommer's."⁷

(2) RELATION OF THE MISSION WITH OTHER GROUPS

GROWING IMPORTANCE OF COÖPERATION

In the pioneer stage of Protestant missions in Japan coöperation did not emerge as a problem. But with the multiplication of missionaries and converts it became the most vital problem of missionary work. For the pioneers there were wide spaces and few contacts. Individualistic promptings as to places and methods of work were freely indulged without any noticeable injury to the missionary work as a whole. In 1873 there were only twenty eight Protestant missionaries in all Japan,⁸ and the Japanese converts numbered only a few hundred. By 1910 there were about twenty different missionary societies at work in Japan, with a personnel of over seven hundred missionaries and a Japanese following of more than thirty-seven thousand believers.⁹ The statistics for the year 1930 showed 58 Protestant missionary societies and churches at work in Japan, employing a foreign staff of 1,198. Meanwhile the total number of Japanese Protestant Christians had risen to 214,970.¹⁰ The figures are given to enable the reader to understand the rapidly growing importance of coöperative relations between the missionaries themselves and in their relations with the Japanese Christians, as the numbers of both so rapidly increased. Coöperation will be viewed from two sides—coöperation between the mission and other foreign groups, and between the mission and the Japanese church.

⁶ SRB letter, July 2, 1866.

⁷ ERM letter, August 4, 1911.

⁸ Verbeck, G. F., *History of Protestant Missions in Japan*, p. 768.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 986-989.

¹⁰ *The Japan Mission Year Book*, 1931, pp. 383, 385.

RELATIONS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH MISSION WITH
OTHER FOREIGN MISSIONS AND MOVEMENTS

IN FORMING A SINGLE CHURCH

It is very significant that the missionaries of the Reformed Church who, later on, found it difficult to coöperate fully with the Japanese church, were at the outset among the foremost leaders in coöperating with other missions in an ideal for a single Japanese church to be self-governing from the start. It was seen in the first chapter how the eleven Japanese who formed the first Protestant Church in Japan in March, 1872 insisted that the church be independent from foreign bodies. The Rev. J. H. Ballagh in a letter dated May 22, 1874, explains to the Secretary of the Board the advantage of such independence:

It is an advantage before the Japanese government for the American missionaries to have no part in the government of the Japanese church. This shows that the Americans are not in Japan to colonize, but rather are willing to make sacrifices, allowing the natives to control the church.

In a letter written the following month and previously quoted from on page 50, the same missionary proceeds in the same vein:

We hoped to get Nüeshima as pastor of the Yokohama Church. "Thus this first church would have stood forth in its true character as a church officered and governed all by its own people. We desire such a boon soon for the 'Church of Christ' in Japan."¹¹

It is clear that the Reformed Church missionaries were leaders among the missionaries in this attitude toward the infant church, for the same missionary continues, in the same letter:

"It is just here where some of our Presbyterian brethren differ with us and the wishes of the native church. The Presbyterians want to be ex-officio rulers in the church, but the Japanese think it better before their jealous government not to invite the foreign missionaries to share in their government. This we think is wise."

The Japanese "will accept whatever suggestions we make that approve themselves to their judgment as in accordance with the Word of God—as articles of faith. But they wish the approval and formulating of their own creed. They refuse to accept one howsoever good prepared for them. This is a position we think they are right in maintaining, especially as they have a very good creed now of their own formation and one having a legitimate and natural origin.

"Our Scotch brethren are, we believe, at one with us in this matter, and so far as I can learn, the American Board brethren."

¹¹ JHB letter, June 18, 1874.

Notwithstanding the lack of agreement on the part of the missionaries, the first Japanese church was successfully launched as a union, undenominational church, self-governing and independent of foreign bodies, from the start. Dr. S. R. Brown and the Rev. J. H. Ballagh were also among the leaders for union in the General Convention of all the missionaries held at Yokohama in September, 1872. Here the missionary group adopted a resolution proposed by Dr. Brown¹² pledging themselves to use their "influence to secure as far as possible identity of name and organization in the native churches." Another meeting held in the interests of church unity is reported in a letter of the Rev. J. H. Ballagh, dated February 23, 1874:

"A Bishop of the Episcopal Church (name given) boldly stated that if we wanted to be right we must come over to the Episcopal Church. Most of the missionaries spoke favorably of the church already formed (the 'Church of Christ'), but expected to form Japanese churches of their own respective denominations. The brethren (Japanese) of the 'Church of Christ' were not embarrassed so long as they were left to maintain their own united 'Church of Christ.' They repudiated the name of sect. They said they belonged to Christ, and if that constituted a new sect, they could not help it."

Writing again under date of April 13, 1874, Mr. Ballagh shows that the Congregational missionaries at that time were as eager to form a single church in Japan as were the leaders of the Reformed Church and some of the Presbyterians:

Dr. Greene says he will go as far as we (the Presbyterian Group and "Church of Christ") will go for one church.

Mr. Ballagh concludes: "They are a noble band of brethren, those American Board missionaries."

The above citations are made to give credit where it is due for attempts among the missionaries to work together for a single, united Protestant Church in Japan.

Again, on October 3, 1877, when the first group of nine churches was organized into "The United Church of Christ in Japan" the hope was entertained by all participating in this organization, both missionaries and Japanese, that there should be but one, nonsectarian Protestant Church in Japan.

Finally, mention should be made of the overtures of the Pres-

¹² Griffis, W. E., *A Maker of the New Orient*, S. R. Brown, pp. 242-244.

byterian group of missionaries and their Japanese brethren in "The United Church of Christ in Japan" for union with the Congregational group of missionaries and Japanese Christians, centering in the Doshisha College in Kyoto. These negotiations were energetically pushed for about two years, but were finally dropped in 1889 because of the apparently growing elements of opposition on the Congregational side—among the Japanese, the missionaries, and the latter's constituency in America. It appears that the Presbyterian group of missionaries desired a single, non-sectarian Protestant Church in Japan, but that the basis of union offered by their "United Church of Christ in Japan" at that time was not broad enough to secure the coöperation of the Congregational group. (See pages 55, 56.)

Attention should here be called to the fact that the Presbyterian missionaries had difficulties with their board in America concerning this policy. The board urged them to connect the new Japanese churches formed through the work of their missionaries with their American church organization. The Reformed Church missionaries used their influence to back up those Presbyterian missionaries who were dissenting from such a course. One of the Reformed Church missionaries writing in later times (1920) recalled that

"the Rev. J. H. Ballagh (Reformed Church missionary) and his friend, the Rev. David Thompson (a Presbyterian missionary), urged that the denominational divisions of America should not be reproduced in Japan. Influenced by the similar stand of the Rev. Dr. Talmage in the Amoy Mission (of the Reformed Church) in China, they insisted that the converts in Japan should be organized into a united church, independent of any organic relation to American ecclesiastical control. This principle is widely accepted and acted upon today, but so broadminded a view was revolutionary when these two young missionaries stood for it in Japan."¹³

By 1890 most of the missions had established Japanese churches of their own denominations. This absence of coöperation was widely lamented. The Rev. T. R. Beck, D. D., formerly a teacher in the Reformed Church's college in Holland, Michigan, who was teaching on a short-term engagement in a government school in Yamaguchi, Japan, wrote as follows in that year:

"The real obstacles in the way of the progress of the gospel here are to be looked for nearer home. The multitude of sects—no less than

¹³ AP letter, in *Mission Field*, March, 1920, p. 402.

34 denominations or Christian bodies are represented here—is a hindrance. Intelligent Japanese ask, Why these divisions, if Christianity be one?"¹⁴

The vision of a united, undenominational Protestant Church thus grew dimmer and dimmer with the passage of the years. As attempts at church union were made from time to time, it was found that the Japanese converts showed a more tenacious and persistent loyalty to their own church groups than did the missionaries through whose instrumentality those groups had been formed. It is true that the members of some family groups united, such for example, as the Northern, Southern, and Canadian Methodists, into a single Japanese Methodist Church. In the year 1930, however, probably no missionary was sanguine enough to visualize a Japanese united Protestant Church—the original ideal of the pioneer missionaries to Japan.

THE COUNCIL OF MISSIONS

One of the immediate outcomes of the organization of the first church in Japan was the drawing together of the Presbyterian group of missions whose converts went into that church. Moreover, the failure of the resolution of the First Missionary Convention in 1872 to bring about the union of all groups, led the missionaries of the Presbyterian and Reformed Missions to maintain organic union of the church growing out of the labours of their missionaries. Their first meeting for this purpose was held at Ferris Seminary in Yokohama on May 16, 1876. This was the beginning of what was called the Council of Missions. At first there were but three missions, the Northern Presbyterian, the Reformed and the Scotch Presbyterian. About ten years later, when other missions began work in Japan and joined, it was called the Council of the United Missions, and still later, it was called "The Council of Missions (Presbyterian and Reformed) Coöperating with the Church of Christ in Japan."¹⁵ The Council of Missions gave to the several missions connected with it a wide scope for coöperation. There were five missions connected with the council in later years. At first the areas of coöperation were defined as two; the fostering care of the Japanese church and the

¹⁴ TRB letter, April 30, 1890, in *Christian Intelligencer*, June 11, 1890.

¹⁵ Imbrie, Wm., *Church Unity in Japan*, pp. 5, 6.

maintenance of a theological school.¹⁶ It afforded a means for the missionaries to get together. Once assembled, their discussions reached out further and further. For many years it was the custom to have the meetings of the Council at the same time as the annual meeting of the Japanese church, and at the same place, though not in the same building.

UNION MISSION SCHOOLS

The Organization of the Reformed and Presbyterian Seminaries into a union theological school in Tokyo in 1877 has been explained in Chapter II. The union of the preparatory schools of the two missions was effected in the same manner, forming the Union College, also in Tokyo, in 1883. Finally, in 1886, the Meiji Gakuin was organized to include the Union College and the Union Theological School on a joint basis, the Reformed and Presbyterian Missions sharing the expenses of the new institution equally. Reference was also made (p. 72) to the coöperative relations in theological education between the South Japan Mission of the Reformed Church and the Southern Presbyterian Mission at Nagasaki and Kobe. Another union, consummated in 1914, also referred to in Chapter II, that of the Sturges Seminary of the Reformed Church with the Presbyterian Girls' School in Yamaguchi into a new school called Baiko Jo Gakuin, at Shimonoseki, is another striking example of coöperation of two missions in educational work. These examples of union of schools of missions of the same denominational family served as a precedent which was later followed by other groups, notably the Methodist groups and the Church of England groups.

THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY

The Christian Literature Society grew out of the Conference of Federated Missions' Committee on Christian Literature in 1912. The Edinburgh Continuation Conference which met in Tokyo April 3, 1911, under the direction of Dr. John R. Mott, adopted a strong resolution expressing approval of the Society and pledging support to its enterprises. In 1912, twenty-two of the supporting missions made pledges for annual appropriations aggregating Yen 4,440 (\$2,220) for carrying on the work of the

¹⁶ Amerman, J. L., *Sketch of the Japan Mission*, 1889, p. 5.

Society.¹⁷ The Reformed Church Mission made an annual pledge of Yen 1,200 (\$600). The members of the mission interested in newspaper evangelism used a great many books and tracts in their work. This accounts for the unusual interest and relatively large appropriation of the Reformed Church Mission for the Society's work.

RELATION OF THE REFORMED CHURCH MISSION WITH THE JAPANESE CHURCH

BEGINNINGS OF FORMAL COÖPERATION

The year 1886 marked the beginning of formal relations between the Church of Christ in Japan and the Presbyterian group of missions. In that year the Dendo Kyoku (Evangelistic Board) was formed. It was a kind of partnership between the "Council of Missions Coöperating with the Church of Christ in Japan" and the "Church of Christ in Japan," according to which the missions were to put in three dollars for every dollar that was contributed by the Japanese, and the resultant fund was to be used for evangelistic work, being administered in each presbytery by a committee composed of Japanese and missionaries in equal numbers. It was thought that this arrangement would result in all the work of the missions passing automatically into the hands of the joint committees of this Home Mission Board within a few years. At that time the Japanese church was growing very fast; in fact, doubling its membership every three years. Some of the missionaries prophesied in 1890 that no more foreign missionaries would be needed for Japan after the end of the nineteenth century. But the unusual growth of the Christian church did not long continue, and the Japanese were unable to keep up their payments according to the agreement. So the arrangement was discontinued because of its lack of success.¹⁸ At that time the co-operating missions invited the Japanese evangelists in their employ to consult with them in matters concerning their evangelistic work. No progress was made here, however, because the Japanese felt no sense of responsibility so long as they were merely advisers.¹⁹ Moreover, a more satisfactory plan of coöperation was under

¹⁷ The Christian Movement in Japan 1913, Chapter XI.

¹⁸ The Relations between the Church of Christ and the Missions, pp. 3, 4; Pieters, A., Mission Problems in Japan, pp. 90-93.

¹⁹ Verbeck, G. F., History of Protestant Christianity in Japan, p. 388.

consideration. The previously described plan, called by Dr. Verbeck "financial coöperation and joint control" was superseded by a plan involving "financial independence and synodical control" in 1894, and thus the partnership between the missions and the Japanese church came to an end. A board of twenty members was elected by the Synod; due care was taken to see that all the presbyteries were represented. The administration, however, rested in an executive committee resident in Tokyo.²⁰ This centralization of authority was much criticized in the remote presbyteries, such as Kyushu.

CONTROVERSY: DEFINITION OF COÖPERATION

In 1897 the question of the relations between this board and the missions was brought up and a committee appointed to study the matter and make recommendations. On the report of the committee to the General Synod of the Japanese church to the effect that no satisfactory coöperation existed between the missions and the Japanese church, General Synod formulated the following definition of the meaning of coöperation on the part of a mission:

"A coöperating mission is one that carries on its work within the bounds of a presbytery of the Church of Christ in Japan, and which plans and conducts all its evangelistic work through a committee consisting of an equal number (of missionaries and Japanese) appointed by the presbytery."²¹

The Synod also appointed a committee of conference and requested the missions to appoint a similar committee. This they did.

THE REPLY OF THE MISSIONS

At the meeting of the General Synod in 1898 the following statement was included in a communication from the Council of Coöperating Missions:

"that the requested committee for conference had been appointed; that in the opinion of the Council the existing coöperation was real coöperation; and that the missions could not coöperate on the basis of the Synod's definition."²²

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 889.

²¹ *Handbook of the Church of Christ in Japan*, p. 103.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 104.

DEFINITION OF THE MISSIONS

Furthermore, the Council of Missions sent its definition of coöperation to the General Synod of the Japanese Church, which ran as follows:

"Coöperation is, in the opinion of the Council, best carried on where the Japanese church organization, in its sessions, presbyteries and synod, directs all ecclesiastical matters, availing itself of the counsels of the missions or missionaries as occasion arises, while the missions direct their own educational, evangelistic and other missionary operations, availing themselves, likewise, of whatever counsel or assistance they may be able to obtain from their brethren in the Japanese church."²³

DIVERGENCE EXPLAINED

During this period many of the older missionaries intimately acquainted with and highly esteemed by the leaders of the Japanese church retired or died or lost the controlling influence in their missions. The idea of partnership between the missions and the Japanese church, however, persisted among the Japanese church leaders and also among the board secretaries in America. On the other hand, many of the younger missionaries held the view that separation of the work of the missions and Japanese church was more satisfactory.²⁴

SITUATION MORE TENSE

Meanwhile there was strong agitation in the General Synod of the Japanese Church concerning coöperation with the missions. Formal communications were sent by the Japanese directly to the mission boards in America, and the boards, to the surprise of the missionaries, replied directly to the Japanese Church in general terms that they were ready to accede to the principles advocated by the Japanese Church for coöperation.²⁵

FINAL DEFINITION OF THE JAPANESE CHURCH

In 1906 the Synod of the Japanese Church declared that the two most important problems for consideration at that time were the support of the Japanese Church and the definition of a co-operating mission. The following definition adopted by the Synod's vote of 25 to 22²⁶ at that time still stands:

²³ Pieters, A., *Mission Problems in Japan*, pp. 94, 95.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 96.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

²⁶ DCR letter, August 24, 1907.

"A coöperating mission is one which recognizes the right of the Church of Christ in Japan to the general care of all the evangelistic work done by the mission as a mission within the Church or in connection with it; and which carries on such work under an arrangement based upon the foregoing principle, and concurred in by the Synod acting through the Board of Missions."²⁷

MISSIONS SPLIT ON COÖPERATION

The discussion on this matter of coöperation "by definition" involved "much spiritual conflict, argument, negotiation and correspondence." A split resulted in the Presbyterian group of missions. Two of the missions, the German Reformed and the Presbyterian North, accepted the definition formulated by the General Synod of the Japanese Church, and became "Coöperating Missions." The two others, the Southern Presbyterian Mission, and the Reformed (Dutch) Mission, North and South, rejected the definition of coöperation and definitely refused to work under it. The Reformed Missions took this stand in opposition to the advices of their board in America. For a time it appeared as if there would be a break between the Reformed Church missionaries on the field and the Board, but at length the Board yielded and allowed its two missions to decide the issue for themselves.

IDEAS OF MISSIONARIES ON COÖPERATION

A few extracts from letters of missionaries of the Reformed Church are inserted here to show how strongly some of them felt on this matter of coöperation. To begin with, the illuminating view of a Japanese, as expressed in his letter written to one of the missionaries, is given.

"Japan has conquered in every battle in the war with China and feels ashamed of her slow progress in church work, that all the control is in the hands of foreigners." . . . If you have love for the Japanese, give all the money which you are using in Japan to the Dendo Kyoku (the Home Mission Board of the Church of Christ in Japan). "I trust the mission, being Americans, will be generous enough to do as I have suggested."

"In case any impolite expression may have crept into this letter, I beg you will excuse it. I have been anxious only to express my thoughts without paying close attention to style."²⁸

²⁷ Handbook of the Church of Christ in Japan, p. 104.

²⁸ K letter, enclosed with HVSP letter, May 18, 1895.

To help support his petition against the Japanese plan of co-operation for the missions, the same missionary points out the dire situation of the Congregational missionaries because of their willingness to follow the plan of coöperation proposed to them by their group of Japanese Christians:

"All the property they (the Congregational missionaries) have built in the interior is held by the Doshisha Company. The missionaries pay rent to them and the Japanese insist on the right to say who shall occupy these houses."²⁹

The same missionary's opinion of the Japanese management of the union school in Tokyo, Meiji Gakuin, is briefly expressed in these words:

"The Meiji Gakuin can never thrive till it gets under the management of a wide-awake foreigner."³⁰

Although Meiji Gakuin has been almost continuously managed by a Japanese principal, it is frequently pointed out as one of the most successful of mission schools in Japan.

A final quotation from the same missionary reports to the members of his Mission the substance of a conference he had held with Mr. Yuan Ishida, representative of the Dendo Kyoku (Home Mission Board) of the Church of Christ in Japan.

"Mr. Ishida asked me rather appealingly, I thought, if we really could not work with them according to the Daikwai's (General Synod's) idea of coöperation. I went over the familiar argument, showing him how the missions with their responsibility to different boards simply could not and never would consent to such coöperation, as they understood the Daikwai's position. I didn't mince matters."³¹

This missionary seems to have overlooked the fact that the Board had urged the mission to accept the plan of coöperation offered by the Church of Christ in Japan, and only the mission's insistent refusal had led the Board to yield in the matter of co-operation.

In a letter to a member of the North Japan Mission in 1898, before the famous definition of coöperation was issued by Daikwai (General Synod), another missionary clearly set forth his principles:

²⁹ HVSP letter, February 9, 1895.

³⁰ HVSP letter, August 5, 1897.

³¹ HVSP letter, December 7, 1905.

"This principle is laid down to stay in our dealings with the Japanese: Not a particle of native control, directly or indirectly, jointly or separately, through Daikwai, Chukwai, or any other organization, of a penny of foreign mission money."

He states that this condition may be modified in educational work (as it already had been at that time in the Meiji Gakuin), but, he continues, "even here, I am almost ready to go the full length."³²

One explanation of the conflict concerning coöperation, with which some of the younger missionaries did not agree, is found in the following quotations from the letter of an older missionary:

"All the younger missionaries, those who have come here since the Japanese Church has been independent of our advice and guidance, are afraid that the Daikwai, by its definition of coöperation, is trying to get control of the mission finances. But those of us who have grown old with the church, and know its development, and trust its leaders, know that there is nothing of the kind to fear. The Daikwai is striving to establish a principle, that all work carried on within the bounds of the church, by those who are working for the church, ought to be under the direction of the church."

"I think that the resolution of the Daikwai might have been so worded as not to wound the susceptibilities of many of the missionaries, but I think the majority of us are willing to take things as they are, and try to work out a plan which can be carried on without friction."³³

In his book "Mission Problems in Japan," the Rev. A. Pieters points out that this question must be decided on the basis of the theory of foreign missions that is held. If it is held that the work of foreign missions is to establish a church (Church Establishment Theory), then the missions should have submitted to such a definition of coöperation as that proposed by the Church of Christ in Japan. If, on the other hand, it is held that the work of foreign missions is to evangelize and christianize a people (Evangelization and Christianization Theory), then the mission should maintain its separate existence from the native church, as well as absolute control over its own work until the task of evangelization is completed. He wishes it to be plainly understood why he refuses to coöperate on the basis of the definition advanced by the Japanese Church:

"Let no one attribute such a position to race pride, to a love of power, or to an obstinate unwillingness to be subordinate where subordination

³² AP letter, March 1, 1898.

³³ ERM letter, May 22, 1907.

is in order. It springs from none of these things, but from rejection of the fundamental principle upon which the notion of the subordination of the American churches in their work in Japan is based."³⁴

He cannot see how young men can be urged to undertake missionary work in Japan if the matter of their location and assignment is left in the hands of the Japanese Church.³⁵

On the other hand, a member of the North Japan Mission of the Reformed Church expressed his opposing view:

"For myself I can say that I do not feel as if I could urge a young man to come out to the mission as long as it takes the attitude which it at present holds towards the Japanese Church. I certainly should not want to enter a mission which is so radically opposed to the wishes and opinions of the best men in the church."³⁶

"COÖPERATING" AND "AFFILIATED" MISSIONS

In 1907 the General Synod of the "Church of Christ in Japan" passed a resolution declaring that the missions and the churches attached to them that would not coöperate according to the definition of 1906 should have no connection whatever with the "Church of Christ in Japan." This resolution aroused strong opposition in the Japanese Synod, as might be expected in view of the small majority that passed the original resolution. The result was that in 1909 overtures were made to the two non-coöperating missions offering them an agreement by which they might become "Affiliated" (Moshi-awase) missions. The Reformed Church and Southern Presbyterian Missions, apparently not wishing to be entirely cut off from their nearest Japanese church associates, and reluctant to see the Japanese pastors associated with them expelled from membership in the Japanese "Church of Christ," accepted this proposal, and thus became "Affiliated Missions."³⁷ It should be noted here that the evangelists and pastors in the employ of the Reformed mission un-animously regretted that the Reformed Church mission felt that it could not become a "Coöperating" mission.³⁸ Furthermore, it is stated that the agreement overture of the "Church of Christ in Japan" was made

³⁴ Pieters, A., *Mission Problems in Japan*, p. 106.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 113.

³⁶ ERM letter, April 2, 1909.

³⁷ *Handbook of the Church of Christ in Japan*, pp. 105-108.

³⁸ HVSP letter, February 12, 1910.

"in order to avoid the evil of the unnecessary establishment in Japan hereafter of new denominations." ³⁹

CALM AFTER THE CONTROVERSY

For many years no further advance was made in coöperation between the Japanese Church and the missions. This was not because a satisfactory arrangement had been perfected, for there was much dissatisfaction shown in both groups—in the coöperating missions, as well as in the affiliated missions.

REFORMED MISSION NOT SATISFIED WITH "AFFILIATION"

As far back as 1913 the following sentiments were expressed by one of the leading members of the Reformed Church Mission in the Japanese weekly, "Fukuin Shimpo":

After referring to the Mott Conferences in Tokyo the writer comments: "I cannot get away from the thought that as a mission we shall have to take into consideration very soon the question as to whether our present relation to the Japanese Church is the best possible or whether we cannot and ought not to make some changes for the better." ⁴⁰

FRIENDLY GESTURES

In 1922 the Church of Christ in Japan celebrated its Fiftieth Anniversary with appropriate ceremonies. Among the eight special features of this celebration, only the three most relevant for the present purpose will be considered here. It was decided by the Japanese Church:

To send a Japanese delegation to visit the Reformed and Presbyterian churches in the United States.

To raise a fund of Yen 500,000 (\$250,000) to carry out the several projects enumerated.

To hold a conference between representatives of the Japanese Church and the associated missions to deepen the spirit of coöperation. ⁴¹

The Japanese Church carried out the first of these purposes by sending the Rev. M. Uemura to the United States. On the recommendation of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church, Rutgers College, whose history is closely

³⁹ WGH letter, December 24, 1909, and printed copy of translation.

⁴⁰ AO letter, May 1, 1913.

⁴¹ Christian Intelligencer, February 15, 1922.

bound up with that of the Reformed Church, conferred upon Mr. Uemura the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1922. In pursuance of the plan next enumerated above, the Reformed Church made a grant of Yen 5,000 (\$2,500) in 1924 and the same amount in 1925 towards the expenses of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of the Church of Christ in Japan.

THE "GODO" PLAN FOR COÖPERATION

The conference arranged for under the last purpose enumerated above led up to a further plan of coöperation between the Japanese Church and the associated missions, called the "Godo" plan. Although much time and discussion were given to its preparation, and it was approved by some of the missions, it was at length voted down by the General Synod of the Church of Christ in Japan. Since that elaborate failure the subject of coöperation, though admittedly a subject of the greatest interest to all, was very cautiously approached. The missions felt that the initiative must come from the Japanese Church. Informal discussions were held from time to time between leaders of the Church of Christ and missionaries in the hope of working out some plan which might find general acceptance. Meanwhile the old "coöperation by definition" between the Church of Christ and the "Coöperating" and "Affiliated" missions is still in force.

LAST EFFORTS

At the General Synod of the Church of Christ in Japan in 1930 certain proposals were brought forward looking to a more satisfactory coöperation. After these proposals were made public, one of the missionaries of the Reformed Church Mission sent to all the missions associated with the Church of Christ in Japan a three-page mimeographed letter in which he gave expression to his position on coöperation; which he prefaced with the following paragraph:

"We are very unfortunate in our Church, because we have had so long a history in this matter (of coöperation), but we must remember that whatever attitude our Japanese brethren may have toward us and our work is the product of that history and we can scarcely expect to change that attitude by a perpetuation of the status quo. I think we

might as well face the fact that the status quo is not satisfactory and cannot be long maintained."

He concludes with the suggestion that a conference be held in the summer of 1931 to take positive steps for closer coöperation.⁴²

The writer of the above-mentioned letter left Japan for America before the summer of 1931.⁴³

RELATION OF THE REFORMED CHURCH MISSION WITH MIXED GROUPS

Under this heading of Mixed Groups two organizations composed of both Japanese and foreigners will be considered.

THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL

In 1918 the Conference of Federated Missions unanimously resolved to entrust to the Continuation Committee the task of calling a general conference of Christian workers, probably in 1920. It was 1922, however, before this conference met. At the meeting the National Christian Council was organized. There was much discussion, printed and oral, as to the usefulness of such an organization. It seemed to many that the Japanese Federation of Churches met all the needs of such an organization for the Japanese Christians, and that the Conference of Federated Missions adequately served the foreigners in this field. Moreover, the absence of an adequate doctrinal statement, and the necessarily high cost of operation of the new organization, deterred some of the missions from prompt and hearty coöperation in the plan. The Reformed Church Mission was among the reluctant groups. The initial budget of Yen 15,000 (\$7,500) was divided into two parts of Yen 7,500 (\$3,750), each for the foreigners and for the Japanese. This arrangement resulted in each Japanese representative being apportioned on the basis of Yen 150 (\$75) and each mission representative on the basis of Yen 220 (\$110). In the January, 1923, Japan Evangelist the organizing committee reported that most of the Japanese church organizations had already approved the Council, and thirteen of the leading missions had signified their intention of coöperating.

⁴² LJS letter, October 17, 1930.

⁴³ Dr. W. G. Hoekje, writing August 22, 1934, added that the discussion, though sometimes languishing, is by no means closed, and no one need be surprised if at almost any time the Japanese Synod and the missions take new actions toward more satisfactory coöperation.

The Reformed Church Mission, urged on by its Board, was among the thirteen, but bracketed "conditionally." The first meeting of the National Council itself took place in November, 1923. Some time afterwards the Japanese Church Federation voted to disband and turn over its balance of funds, Yen 343.85 (\$171.92½) as a nest-egg for an endowment fund for the Council. The Japan Continuation Committee also disbanded, transferring its work to the new organization.⁴⁴ The Conference of Federated Missions has also gradually turned over most of its functions to the National Christian Council.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD MOVEMENT

The Rev. T. Kagawa, well-known social worker, labour leader, author and Christian evangelist, has in recent years become the most outstanding figure in Japanese evangelistic work. He founded an organization of "Kagawa Supporters" and published a monthly called "Friends of Jesus." In the Conference on Applied Christianity in 1928 he was one of the leading speakers. He gave at that time an explanation of his slogan, "A Million Souls for Christ," and outlined a plan of campaign. When the conferences attended by Dr. John R. Mott in May, 1929, made their plan for evangelism, it was voted to ask the National Christian Council to carry forward a nation-wide evangelistic campaign based on Mr. Kagawa's outline. Attempts were made to make this an all-Christian movement by getting all the missions and churches throughout the Empire to coöperate. On June 7, 1929, the Commission on Evangelism of the National Christian Council met with the Kagawa supporters in Japan and voted to set up a central committee to take over the "Million Souls Movement." The name was changed to "The Kingdom of God Movement." Mr. Kagawa has been the heart of this movement and he is backed by this central committee of thirty members. After six months of preparation the formal campaign was launched by mass meetings, beginning January 1, 1930, in six of the largest cities of the Empire.⁴⁵ These meetings were reported as very successful. Many individuals and some missions officially coöperated by planning their own evangelistic work in

⁴⁴ Japan Evangelist, November-December, 1923, pp. 344, 345.

⁴⁵ Japan Christian Quarterly, January, 1930.

conjunction with the meetings of this movement. The Reformed Church Mission, however, has not, as a mission, officially cooperated with the Kingdom of God Movement.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Since the above was written, the Kingdom of God Movement has assumed new forms of activity. After emphasizing evangelism the first year, an extensive program was launched for conducting Peasant Gospel Schools for the training of Christian workers, and the extension of coöperatives for producing, marketing, credit and consumers, the profits from such coöperatives to be used for insurance, medical service, and other forms of mutual aid. See Kagawa's book, "Christ and Japan."

CHAPTER IV

SOME MAJOR ISSUES IN THE HISTORY OF THE JAPAN MISSION OF THE REFORMED CHURCH

INTRODUCTORY

It would be very simple if such a mission as the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church could adopt in toto a set of objectives drawn up by recognized authorities. But one of the first requirements of good objectives is that they grow out of the needs of the local situation. In the present study the local situation in Japan is reflected in the varied activities of the missionaries and the forms of work they established. The mission's response to the local situation in Japan is therefore shown not only by the policies and present conditions obtaining in the mission. It is also revealed in the historical account of how the various forms of mission work have been built up, in the development and change of mission policies, and, most of all, in the attitudes and aims of the missionaries. The changing local conditions, as they have affected the mission work through seventy years, have been shown in the first three chapters of this study. It remains, in this final chapter, first, to set forth the aims and attitudes of the missionaries, as revealed by their work and writings; secondly, to examine some aims formulated by recognized authorities in the realm of missions and religious education; and finally, to draw up and scrutinize objectives proposed for the mission under consideration.

(1) AIMS AND ATTITUDES OF MISSIONARIES

The aims and attitudes of the missionaries are ascertained more fully and accurately from a review of the historical record of their activities than from the few written aims quoted at the end of the first chapter, pages 61-63. Examination of these missionary activities during the period under consideration reveals some rather clear-cut types of missionaries. These types can best be considered by comparing them in conjugate pairs

of opposites. We cannot expect to find such types perfectly consistent throughout, but the opposing types are consistent enough to illustrate certain attitudes to be considered. The following conflicting types will be reviewed: the "evangelistic" and "educational" missionaries; the appreciative and unappreciative attitudes towards Japanese culture; the individualistic and social-minded types of missionaries; those missionaries who consider Christianity a doctrine and those who consider it a kind of life.

THE "EVANGELISTIC" AND "EDUCATIONAL" MISSIONARIES

THE "EVANGELISTIC" MISSIONARY

In considering the "evangelistic" and "educational" types of missionaries, it must be borne in mind that these terms are used in this discussion in a relative, restricted, sense. In missionary work, the terms "educational" and "evangelistic" are commonly employed to distinguish school work from preaching work, respectively. In the same manner, these terms are applied to missionaries engaged in these forms of work. In this comparison of two diverse forms of missionaries, however, the distinguishing element is not the form of the work of the missionary, but his educational attitude in the work. In this study, the term "educational" is applied to the missionary who recognizes the importance of employing the best educational method, and the term "evangelistic" is applied to the missionary who lays the emphasis on his call to preach the Christian message, and pays little or no attention to educational method.

The "evangelistic" type of missionary is well known in missionary circles in Japan.¹ He expects to gain converts from his "proclamation of the Word"—as he calls his preaching in street meetings, public halls and temple festivals, as well as in churches. He preaches or teaches to individuals and groups what he considers the essential doctrines of Christianity. An outstanding characteristic of the evangelistic missionary is his conception of conversion. He expects sudden "decisions" to become Christians and insists upon his converts turning their backs upon their past patterns of experience—their former conceptions of God,

¹ See pages 58-61.

their ancestor worship, and their entire religious heritage—to accept the new conception of God which he brings to them. The evangelistic missionary may recognize that such a complete break from all that has gone before is a miracle, but he believes that such miracles are constantly occurring. In his correspondence he frequently makes references to such miracles of grace in the conversion of the Japanese.

The “evangelistic” missionary emphasized the value of preaching in contrast to school work. In the first part of Chapter II attention was called to the conflict that arose between some of the country missionaries doing evangelistic work and some of the missionaries conducting the schools in the cities. Certain of the evangelistic missionaries protested against the use of such a large proportion of the mission’s funds “on extensive school buildings and secular teaching.”² Perhaps this position was a hangover from the similar view expressed by the secretary of the Board nearly twenty years before.³ As intimated above, the evangelistic missionaries felt that preaching and teaching what they regarded as the essentials of Christianity was the ideal form of missionary work, and that spending large sums for school equipment, where most of the education given was “secular,” was a misuse of mission funds.⁴ They made a clear line of demarcation between “religious” and “secular” subjects. They saw the necessity of maintaining small schools for the training of their own Japanese evangelists and workers, but they were opposed to the mission entering the general field of education as a part of the regular mission work. They could see no reason for making extensive outlay on educational institutions, where it was necessary to teach a lot of “secular” subjects in order to get the opportunity to do a little “religious” teaching.

The “evangelistic” missionary generally advocates and practices extensive work rather than intensive.⁵ He talks much of “the regions beyond,” and generally attempts to cover a larger field in his tours than he can get around once a month. He emphasized “sowing the seed” of the gospel, having faith that if the seed were sown, it would grow and produce fruit in a Christian life. The old slogan of the Student Volunteer Movement, “the evangelization of the world in this generation,” had a strong

2 Pages 65-66. 3 Page 65. 4 Page 81. 5 Pages 58-59.

appeal for the "evangelistic" type of missionary. This slogan promoted extensive rather than intensive work. This was shown in Chapter I⁶ in the example of the missionary whose real aim was to give everyone an opportunity to hear the gospel message, rather than to lead everyone to become a Christian. Probably the former seemed to him a possible goal, while the latter did not.

The "evangelistic" missionary in Japan was clearly the product of certain conditions in America. He has always had a strong backing in the American churches, as everyone who knows the American churches can testify. Some contributors in the American churches have regularly designated their gifts for "evangelistic work" rather than for school work, or general appropriations. Such contributors believed in what was known in America as the evangelistic method of doing Christian work rather than the so-called Religious Education procedure of Christian nurture.

THE "EDUCATIONAL" MISSIONARY

Along with the "evangelistic" type of missionary, there have always been in the mission some missionaries who had a different educational attitude toward the conversion of the Japanese. They recognized conversion as a slow educational process rather than a sudden change. They did not expect sudden conversions in such a country as Japan, where the people possessed neither the knowledge of Christianity nor a Christian background.

The two earliest missionaries of the Mission of the Reformed Church, Mr. Verbeck and Dr. Brown, appear to have been men of this type. Their converts came out of the Bible classes they taught, but apparently only after a long period of teaching. The nature of Murata's conversion has been discussed by some missionaries as a fine example of a slow educational process in becoming a Christian. He continued his private study of the Bible for nearly ten years. Then he received Mr. Verbeck's explanations of sections he did not understand over a period of several years more before he requested baptism in 1866.⁷ Mr. Verbeck's long period of service in setting up and advising the educational institutions of the Japanese government⁸ is a strong testimonial to his educational insight.

⁶ Page 63. ⁷ Pages 30, 31. ⁸ Page 22.

Dr. Brown's efforts to build up the mission's school work are significant as showing his sound educational position. His emphasis on training Japanese to do the work of evangelizing the country revealed at once his statesman-like outlook on the future of Christianity in Japan, his confidence in the Japanese, and his belief in the educational method.⁹ The "evangelistic" missionaries favoured schools for training their evangelists and workers, but stopped there. When Dr. Brown gathered together the theological students being taught by the evangelistic missionaries and started the first regular theological school, and later worked for academic schools, he indicated that he considered the educational method of schools more valuable than the preaching method followed by evangelistic missionaries.¹⁰

It was seen how Dr. Amerman's efforts to secure higher educational facilities for the theological students became the entering wedge for him and the other educationally-minded missionaries to launch out into the general field of academic education for all students who wished to attend.¹¹

The early teachers of Ferris Seminary worked to make the school a boarding school because they believed that the production of Christian character was a process that required considerable time, involving conditioning the environment. As quoted in Chapter II, one of them argued for a dormitory as follows: "Having them (the pupils) with us constantly and away from their own homes they could be taught the beauties of the Christian home life, and thus be prepared to spread that influence in homes of their own as they leave school."¹²

AGREEMENTS AND CONFLICTS

The "evangelistic" missionaries were generally opposed to seeking government recognition for the mission's schools because of the resulting limitations in curriculum-making. Full government recognition prevented the Christian principal from giving to Bible-teaching and chapel attendance as large a place as he wished to give it in the mission school. The "educational" missionaries generally felt, on the other hand, that government recognition was desirable, if for no other reason than to show that the missionaries appreciated the government regulations, and

⁹ Page 68. ¹⁰ Page 67. ¹¹ Page 69. ¹² Page 83.

as foreigners, wished to coöperate in every way possible with the Japanese government. But apparently both groups felt that the distinguishing feature of a Christian school should be Bible study and chapel worship. For only on the understanding that these could be retained was government recognition sought for Meiji Gakuin,¹³ and for fear of losing the privilege of giving "distinctive Christian instruction" to the pupils, an application to secure official recognition for Ferris Seminary was withdrawn.¹⁴

In the matter of conducting academic schools, the "evangelistic" and "educational" missionaries met on the common ground that such schools were successful evangelizing agencies. But their attention was focused on different aspects of the school work. The former watched the statistics showing the percentages of students becoming Christians during the course. The latter viewed with satisfaction the removal of prejudice against Christianity and the laying of religious foundations for the building of Christian character. The "educational" missionaries sought from the home constituency better school equipment and specialized teachers to make the mission schools outstanding as educational institutions. But the "evangelistic" missionaries wanted to keep expenditures for school equipment to the minimum. And one Board Secretary wrote to the principal of Ferris Seminary in such a vein that the principal replied that he "appreciated" the fact that the end of the school was "spiritual," "and not educational in the ordinary sense."¹⁵

It is thus seen that the "educational" and "evangelistic" groups mutually reacted upon each other. The "educational" missionaries found it impossible to build up mission schools educationally distinctive, and compromised by making them chiefly agencies of evangelization. The "evangelistic" missionaries, moreover, were forced to admit that exposing young people to the Christian influence in a mission school where the course extended over several years brought more converts than they expected. Only in recent times have missionaries had visions of an educational method more Christian in its operation and effects than the traditional evangelism.

TWO ATTITUDES OF MISSIONARIES TOWARD JAPANESE CULTURE

THE UNAPPRECIATIVE ATTITUDE

Some missionaries showed a condescending attitude towards all Japanese culture. They justified this position on the ground that the Japanese themselves had turned their backs on their own culture when they opened their country for intercourse with the Western nations and made over their institutions to follow Western patterns. "If the Japanese themselves are throwing away their ancient culture to adopt Western civilization, why should we, possessors of the Western civilization, take time to study what they do not consider worth retaining," they argued. They apparently overlooked two factors here. In the first place, there has always been a large number of Japanese who clung to their own culture as superior to the Western culture that was being introduced by their government. Most of the Japanese who were eager to learn the Western culture had no intention of throwing away their own any more than the American who learns French intends to discontinue using the English language. They clung to what they cherished of the old heritage and adapted the new to connect up with the old, wherever connections were possible. The other overlooked factor had to do with the missionary himself. To what extent did he have an open and ready mind to learn from the Japanese culture? Certainly there are many indications in the records that some of the missionaries felt that they were in Japan to give, not to receive; to teach, not to learn. Such missionaries did not expect to find anything worth while in the culture of the Japanese, and their expectations were not exceeded.

Most of the customs of the Japanese people can be traced back to a religious origin in either Buddhism or Shinto. Since these missionaries regarded Buddhism and Shinto as false religions, which they desired to see superseded by the "true" religion which they came to bring, they wanted to see the old customs swept away with the old religions. The celebration of countless anniversaries of births and deaths was discountenanced by such missionaries. The inherited religions, they thought, should be swept away, root and branch, lest some of their old features should contaminate the "true" doctrines of Christianity.

The missionary who wrote the description of the Benten religious procession,¹⁶ with its indecent figures, apparently wished to show the need of replacing a religion of such vile manifestations with a higher moral religion, such as Christianity. Such a missionary found it difficult to show ordinary courtesy to the Shinto and Buddhist priests, as he thought of the worst features in their religions. Instances of this appeared in the scene on the mountain-top and in the missionary's refusal to accept the Buddhist invitation to attend the funeral of one of his converts.¹⁷ It was consistent for such a missionary to interpret the great earthquake of 1891 which destroyed so many Buddhist temples, as a judgment of God upon the Buddhists for their idolatry and for their opposition to the work of the Christian missionaries in that region.¹⁸

The newspaper article attacking the patron Sun-Goddess of the Japanese people¹⁹ was an example of extreme aggressiveness toward a national religion. It struck directly at the Emperor, as well as at the most ancient and sacred traditions of the Japanese people. The fact that the missionary who published this article should have received words of commendation from friends in both Japan and America indicates the prevalence of his viewpoint at that time.

There is no indication that the missionaries unappreciative of Japanese culture changed their attitudes. In some cases it is clear that their ideas were carefully thought out and deliberately and persistently followed. Some of the examples above cited took place after the missionaries had their attention called in a striking way to the noticeable lack of missionary appreciation for things Japanese. In 1882 Dr. Joseph Cook gave lectures on science in the government schools of Japan on the official invitation of the Department of Education. While he showed a sympathetic interest in Christian work, as admitted in one of the missionary's letters of the time,^{19a} he sent out to the Japanese a questionnaire to ascertain their estimate of the Christian missionaries. Two of the most outstanding adverse criticisms were a want of respect for, and lack of appreciation of, the Japanese character. The results of this questionnaire were published in

16 Page 33. 17 Page 43. 18 Page 44. 19 Pages 44, 45.

19a JLA letter, May 30, 1882; Christian Intelligencer, Feb. 13, 1884.

prominent magazines, such as the *Japan Evangelist* in Japan and *The Independent*, in America.

The early missionaries had the rare opportunity of setting up the patterns for those who should succeed them. In some respects they lived nobly up to this challenge. In other respects, with the knowledge gained with the passage of the years, their successors find many things in their conduct to criticize adversely. For example, as one admires the graceful roof curves of the Japanese architecture, one wonders why the missionary who had the supervision of erecting the first Protestant church building in Japan in 1874 should have turned his back on all suggestions of the indigenous architecture and erected a typical American church building, with its rigid, straight lines, not omitting glass windows and a bell, solicited from America.²⁰ The obvious deduction is that he considered that the prospects for an uncontaminated (American) Christianity were better if the Christian equipment familiar to him were installed. Perhaps along with the Japanese architecture would come associations of the old Buddhist or Shinto rites used in the past, and thus distract the thoughts of the Japanese worshipper from the Christian service.

THE APPRECIATIVE ATTITUDE

The two earliest missionaries of the church to Japan, Dr. Brown and Mr. Verbeck, give indications in their writings and work of having had a due appreciation of the culture of the Japanese. They seemed to recognize that the Japanese prejudice against foreigners and Christianity could best be removed by the foreigners' appreciative attitude towards Japanese culture. A study of the character of these two pioneers reveals the possession of a gentlemanly highmindedness and respect for the personality of others that led them to hold in high regard the background of the people they were trying to interest in the Christian religion.

Dr. Brown, who had spent nine years in educational work in China before going to Japan, writes of his interest in the study of the Shinto religion, the unique religious product of ancient Japanese culture. He was also one of the founders, and the

first vice-president of the Asiatic Society of Japan.²¹ This society was made up of a group of occidental scholars resident in Japan who were interested in the study of Japanese culture. Through their research and translations, the members of this society introduced to the English-reading world some of the most valuable contributions ever made concerning the origins of Japanese customs and religions.

Mr. Verbeck set out to study the Japanese culture from the start, as shown by letters written in 1861.²² He wished to extend his knowledge even to "the sins of the country." He later showed a deep insight into the Japanese character and history, which this attitude gave him. He entered enthusiastically into the counsels of the leaders of the new Meiji Government in 1868.²³ During his more than ten years of government service, he came to recognize the stupendous task the Restorers had set for themselves,—nothing less than the grafting of the occidental civilization upon an oriental feudalism. The new system, extending to government, industry, transportation, army and navy, and compusory education, could not be imposed on the ancient foundation carelessly. The Japanese leaders saw the possibility of linking up this new civilization with the old through the instrumentality of the ancient Japanese religious cult, Shinto, culminating in Mikado worship. The establishment of State Shinto thus became the principal bond to hold the loyalty of thirty millions of Japanese to the new regime, because the whole movement was recognized not as a revolution, but as a restoration of the Emperor to his rightful authority and position. There were elements in this reorganization that Dr. Verbeck as a Christian could not approve of, but he was sensible enough to recognize that the new must find some bonds of connection with the old, and tactful enough not to oppose a situation he could not remedy. It was not his nature to condemn where he could not propose something constructive. His consideration for the personality of men impressed those with whom he had to deal. One of his most illustrious pupils, Shigeru Okuma, who afterwards became Count and Prime Minister, expressed gratitude for Dr. Verbeck's English teaching, but said that he was still

more grateful for the influence of Dr. Verbeck's personality upon his life.²⁴

In the first chapter an instance was given showing how much importance a missionary attached to giving the Japanese pastors and leaders of the church a prominent place in the performance of the rites of the church.²⁵ He thought this should be done to offset the growing criticism that Christianity was a foreign religion. Again, the Rev. James H. Ballagh appears to have tried to find a Japanese pastor for the first Protestant Christian church from the beginning. Failing in this attempt, he became pastor, but resigned as soon as he could find a suitable Japanese for the place.²⁶ It was noted, too, how Professor Wyckoff in teaching the Bible to Japanese always addressed them as if they accepted its teaching.²⁷ This was his delicate way of saving them from any embarrassment. Three different principals of the mission's schools expressed their desire to avoid Americanization of their pupils, and to fit them to take their places in their own culture.²⁸ One principal emphasized the use of the vernacular in teaching subjects where English had been previously used in mission schools.²⁹

In their attitude towards the Shinto ceremonies some of the missionaries seemed sympathetic, and surprisingly open-minded for their time. They regarded the bowing of the students to the Emperor's portrait as an appropriate act of reverence on the part of the students.³⁰ The conduct of pupils to the shrines of the great men of the past they considered a legitimate method of inculcating loyalty. Some of the missionaries cultivated the friendship of Buddhist and Shinto priests, not only with a view to teaching them about Christianity, but also with a real desire to learn more about the Japanese religions. Some proposed the christianization of Shinto and Buddhist customs in order to tie up Christianity more closely with the social life of the Japanese.³¹ It was noted that the missionaries often went out of their way to inculcate in their students and Christian converts loyalty to the Emperor and to the Japanese government. One of the missionaries led his Japanese friends in prayers for the success of

²⁴ Mission Field, May, 1910. ²⁵ Page 53.

²⁶ Pages 50, 51. ²⁷ Page 54. ²⁸ Pages 84, 92.

²⁹ Page 85. ³⁰ Page 45. ³¹ Page 45.

the Japanese arms against Russia.³² Christian prayers were also offered on the occasion of the opening of the first Diet.³³

The mission's support of the preponderating Japanese leadership in the Meiji Gakuin for fifty years is a remarkable example of the confidence of a majority of the missionaries in the Japanese, and at the same time, a splendid justification for such confidence. The transfer of the Theological Department of Meiji Gakuin to the Japanese Church in 1929 was a triumph of the appreciative spirit of Japanese leadership on the part of the missionaries.³⁴ The missionaries' respect and even admiration for the government system of education may be creditable to them from the angle of attitudes towards the Japanese, although it undoubtedly lowered the standards for the mission's schools. The emphasis of the mission on the education of girls shows a commendable desire to make up what is lacking in the government provision of educational facilities for girls.

FURTHER CONTRASTS

The appreciative attitude of some missionaries, and the unappreciative attitude of others, towards the Japanese culture, indicate a striking contrast in their psychological background. The missionary who did not appreciate the Japanese heritage of the past, did not appreciate it because he believed that that past in each individual had to be swept away if sound converts to Christianity were to be made. His pattern of Christian conversion required a complete break with all past experience. He was often forced by experience to recognize the tremendous difficulties involved in such a break. He did what he could to alleviate the rigours of the situation. He gathered the converts together for prayer-meetings as frequently as possible; encouraged them to talk about their break with their sinful past and the better life of the present and future. He visited them frequently to encourage them to persevere in the new faith. From the psychological viewpoint, such a fellowship of the converts and the exhortations of the missionary proved a necessary support to sustain the converts in such severe crises of their experience.

³² Pages 48, 49.

³³ Page 47.

³⁴ Pages 70, 71.

Now the missionary who appreciated the Japanese customs and religions, recognized in them some elements of abiding value. Moreover, he thought of normal human experience as a continuum, and saw no reason for conversion to Christianity breaking up that continuum. He attempted to christianize as many as possible of the old Japanese customs which had grown out of the Buddhist and Shinto past experience of his converts.³⁵ He believed that this helped to connect up new Christian ideas with the old experience in a way that would make it more enduring. This made becoming a Christian a process of growth, or fuller illumination, or a series of adaptations into the Christian viewpoint. Hence the missionary who appreciated the Japanese culture constantly sought to introduce into his sermons illustrations from Japanese history, from popular customs, and even from sermons of the Buddhist priests, to show how ideas in the Japanese culture paved the way for and sometimes found fulfillment in the Christian religion.

THE INDIVIDUALISTIC AND SOCIAL-MINDED TYPES OF MISSIONARIES

THE INDIVIDUALIST

In Chapter III, in describing the difficulties of the mission in coöperating with other groups, it was shown that the individualistic type of missionary found it increasingly difficult to work alongside of others, as the number of missionaries and converts increased in Japan.³⁶ In the pioneering days the individualist was a law unto himself. He had at that time practically unlimited scope in choosing his work and methods. He was independent in his thinking, and when he reached a conclusion it became a conviction for which he was willing to fight if need be. In his category of thinking there was no inclusive middle position. For him a discussion terminated in a choice between two alternatives, only one of which could be right; the other must be wrong. The "both . . . and" form of conclusion did not occur to him. This type of mind thought in terms of authority. When an authority was recognized, he did not hesitate to use force to carry out the "right" course of action.

In mission administration the individualist ruled with rigour.

³⁵ Page 139. ³⁶ Page 111.

At mission meetings he often argued at length to get his ideas as to how mission work should be done embodied in amendments to the standing rules so that they would be enforced on everyone by the authority of the mission. Discussions on questions of mission policy sometimes became bitter controversies. Such was the case with the problem as to whether or not the theological education should be continued at Nagasaki,³⁷ or the extent to which the mission should coöperate with the Japanese Church.³⁸ The former controversy continued a dozen years, and resulted in at least one missionary family leaving the mission. The latter problem stirred the emotions of the missionaries to the very end of the period under consideration. Many commented upon this controversial spirit. One missionary declared that he would dismiss from his household servants who got along no better together than did the members of the mission.³⁹

The individualistic missionary was thus at a noticeable disadvantage when it came to coöperating, either with his fellow missionaries, or with the Japanese leaders. He was sure of his own convictions, and expected others to see things as he did. When forced to submit to social control in the form of a majority of the mission against his position, he wanted his conviction to go on record as a minority opinion, for he was sure that future events would prove the correctness of his views. It was seen in the third chapter how a very small group left their enduring brand upon the mission at the time of the bitter controversy between the missions and the Japanese Church. For the Reformed Church Mission has ever since that time been termed an "Affiliated," rather than a "Coöperating" Mission.

The individualistic missionary often referred to himself in his speeches, articles and correspondence, as a soldier of the cross. He used military terms in speaking of his work.⁴⁰ He spoke of "occupying a field effectively" to "conquer the forces of idolatry and superstition." He drew examples from "invading armies" to illustrate the aggressive attitude missionaries should take in their work. As Commodore Perry steamed ahead when attacked, and opened up the country of Japan to foreigners, so missionaries should be invincible to fear in the service of Chris-

³⁷ Pages 71, 72. ³⁸ Pages 117-126. ³⁹ Page 110.
⁴⁰ Page 63.

tianity.⁴¹ If a strongly Buddhist village resented the advances of the individualistic missionary and tried to prevent his coming to their town by closing meeting places to him, he held a meeting in a vacant lot. He sometimes "carried the war into Africa" alone, because his fellow Japanese workers felt it was bad taste to be so aggressive.

The dominating spirit of the individualistic missionary brought forth fruit after its kind in later years in the Japanese converts. Doubtless this dominating spirit was often unconscious to the missionary himself, but very noticeable to the evangelists or teachers who served under his direction. Some of the opposition to the plan of paying the evangelists from a central treasury was made on the ground that the missionary would no longer be able to use his prerogative of paymaster to enforce the prompt transmission of monthly reports. The result of the missionary forcing his will upon the evangelist was bad enough. But that was only the first and lesser part of the evil results of such coercion. For when the evangelist rose to leadership in the Japanese church and was called to become the pastor of an independent church, he struck back at the missionary in like manner. No longer in the employ of the mission, he attempted, through the authority of the Synod of the Japanese Church, to force his will upon the missionaries. As a result, the missionary found it necessary to combat in the Japanese Synod the dominating spirit which he had unintentionally taught the Japanese leaders in the days of their apprenticeship.⁴² How the Japanese learned the dominating spirit of some of the missionaries, which, of course, the missionaries did not intend to teach, is a fine example of the unexpected, accompanying, learnings often resulting from the use of coercion.⁴³

Consistently enough, the individualistic missionary believed in an individualistic interpretation of the Christian message. He could not understand just what was meant by a "social gospel." He never developed the group consciousness, which has proved to be a source of great strength to many missionaries of the social-minded type. He thought of himself as an individual ambassador of Christ sent to Japan to present a definite gospel message, but to present it in any way he might himself think

41 Page 39. 42 Page 120. 43 See Wm. H. Kilpatrick, *Foundations of Method*, p. 87.

best. As a soldier of the cross, he was one of the advance scouts who could set his own pace, and not have to keep step in any ranks.

The faults of the individualistic missionary appear outstanding. But no less outstanding were his virtues. He did not hesitate to sacrifice himself—or his family—or his friends—for “the work,” as he understood it. He aroused the admiration—though probably more seldom the love—of the Japanese among whom he worked. His heroic endurance, his untiring zeal and his cheerful sacrifices were a perpetual challenge to all workers, far and near.

THE SOCIAL-MINDED MISSIONARY

Social education and the social gospel are sometimes regarded as recent developments. It is more accurate to regard them as recent emphases resulting from the sinister effects of unsocialized attitudes and conduct on the part of ultra-individualists. Probably there have always been some socially-minded people who could never think of themselves and of their activities except in relationships with others, and who found their greatest satisfaction in life when working in coöperation with others. In the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church, Dr. S. R. Brown appears to have been such a man. For him, coöperation with the Japanese or others seemed the natural course. His Bible translation work was a good example of this. He showed that he was capable of working well alone, but when invited by the Bible Society to work with other missionaries to make a standard version of the Scriptures, he cheerfully welcomed such an opportunity for coöperative effort.⁴⁴

Fortunately, there were always some of the social-minded type of missionaries in the mission, or at least missionaries who at times rose to the socialized level of conduct. This was indicated in Chapter II, where the coöperation of the mission with the Presbyterian Mission in the boys' and in the girls' schools was described.⁴⁵ Other forms of coöperative work enumerated in Chapter I were the work on Bible translation and that in the compilation of hymnals.⁴⁶ In Chapter III other forms of coöperation were added, namely, coöperation with other mission-

⁴⁴ Page 23. ⁴⁵ Pages 69, 72-78, 93, 94, 108. ⁴⁶ Pages 29, 30.

aries in establishing the first Protestant church in Japan, coöperation with the Presbyterian group of missionaries in the Council of Missions, and coöperation with all other missionary groups in the Christian Literature Society.

Some of the social-minded missionaries have argued for the abolition of compulsory chapel services and Bible-teaching in the schools. They would put religion on an entirely voluntary basis. The thought of compulsion in connection with religion was intolerable to them. For example, one of the missionaries wrote that in case a war, which at that time threatened, should develop between Japan and America, he hoped that the Board in America would be willing to sacrifice all its property and even the lives of its missionaries rather than take advantage of gunboat protection, because of the untoward atmosphere that such action would create for future missionaries working in Japan.⁴⁷

In his relations with the Japanese Church the social-minded missionary worked for an intrinsically motivated, indigenous church. For example, Dr. Brown could enjoy teaching his theological students all the more because he knew that they had been selected and assigned to his school by the Japanese Church.⁴⁸ Attention was called to the efforts of some of the missionaries to honour their fellow Japanese workers and encourage them to assume leadership.⁴⁹

The social-minded missionary found it embarrassing to have to pay the salaries of his workers directly. He understood and appreciated the sensitiveness of some of the Japanese in receiving money from foreigners. He worked out a method to have all salaries sent out in an impersonal way from a central treasurer.⁵⁰

This type of missionary often made compromises between extreme alternatives. When the individualist argued "either . . . or," the social-minded missionary came to the rescue with a "both . . . and" argument to get a practical working program adopted. In mission meetings, even the individualist preferred to have a social-minded missionary in the chair, though he did not hesitate to accuse him of sacrificing his principles in the interests of harmony and good-will. The social-minded missionary seemed to

⁴⁷ Page 54.

⁴⁸ Page 67.

⁴⁹ Pages 53, 54.

⁵⁰ Pages 105, 106.

care more for the manner in which a thing was done than he did for the actual accomplishment of it. He was frequently put on important committees, but often with limitations on his power to act—limitations attached by fearful individualists.

The social-minded missionary did not lose sight of the social implications of the gospel message. He appeared less zealous, however, in urging the social gospel upon others than did the individualistic missionary in urging his individualistic interpretation of the gospel upon all. He did not make a good minority leader, for he was disposed to abide by the majority vote. While criticized for sacrificing too much for the sake of peace and harmony, he seemed ever ready to lose his own individuality in the group. He could not endure the thought of being viewed aloof as one "fighting for his principles." He showed a genial spirit that was contagious. In arguing his case he often won the vote of the bristling individualist by his extreme fairness and spirit of good will.

With the growth of union movements in Japan, the social-minded missionary is gaining ground. Even newspaper evangelism, which was started as a form of work which the individualistic missionary might carry on successfully without consulting others, has, in the interests of greater efficiency, grown into a coöperative movement.⁵¹

CHRISTIANITY—DOCTRINE OR LIFE?

Another conflict that underlay the different activities of the missionaries of the Reformed Church during the seventy years under review is that between two fundamentally different views of the Christian life. On the one hand, there were those who held that Christianity is essentially a belief in certain historical facts handed down from the past. On the other hand, at times there have been voices raised to show that emphasis should be laid on Christianity as life—the life of Christ, communicated by the Spirit, dwelling in men, from generation to generation.

DOCTRINE

The experience of the writer indicates that the missionaries who emphasized doctrine generally held the field in the Japan

⁵¹ Pages 26–28.

Mission of the Reformed Church. One missionary declared on the floor of the mission that anyone who held that Christianity was life should not be permitted to minister in the Reformed Church in America. Such men have pointed out the emphasis laid on doctrine in the Reformed Church canons, confession of faith, and catechism. They quoted Bible texts, such as "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." Finally they were able to show concrete examples of converts who asserted that they were saved by faith in certain doctrines of the Bible. In the first chapter an example was given of a Japanese postmaster who refused a bribe of a thousand yen.⁵² The reason he gave for being able to resist such a temptation was that there rang in his ears the Bible text, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" So long as those who hold to the doctrine conception of the Christian life can point to examples of men who have by the study of the Bible alone been guided into the Christian life they feel that their position is secure. Murata, the first Christian convert of Mr. Verbeck, might be pointed out as an example of this sort.⁵³ He apparently studied the Bible without a teacher for years. The question might well be raised here, however, if he would have continued his study to the point of desiring baptism if he had not enjoyed the teaching of and contact with Mr. Verbeck.

Certain very definite educational implications follow from the view of Christianity as doctrine. Christian education then becomes knowledge—an acquaintance with certain truths that are deemed essential in the salvation of men. This means typical transmissive education—the transfer from generation to generation of a fixed body of truth intact. Such indoctrination has been followed in many branches of Christendom. Obviously, it is important that these truths be not altered, or their efficacy may be impaired. If any projects and activities are introduced into such a process of education, they must be introduced as applications of these truths. No experimentation can be permitted, for the outcome would be uncertain. This is one of the difficulties the missionaries experienced in Japan. The first converts wanted to work out their own church rules and doctrines. But some of the missionaries became alarmed, for they feared that the doc-

trines thus worked out might be heretical. In the beginnings of the Japanese Church one missionary lamented the fact that the Japanese leaders were weak on the doctrine of the sovereignty of God. So the missionaries urged the Japanese to take over the doctrines of Christianity as formulated in the American churches; they translated into Japanese the American creeds, confessions of faith and catechisms, so that the Japanese converts would have a standard of orthodoxy. The eagerness of the early missionaries to get the Bible translated into Japanese is not cited here, because the Bible is the common source-book of the various creeds and interpretations of all the Christian denominations—of those who regard Christianity as life, as well as those who regard it as doctrine.

The missionaries of one denomination withdrew from the Meiji Gakuin Union Theological Seminary because they considered one of the text-books used at the time heretical from their viewpoint of sound doctrine. In the nature of the case, the doctrinist must be uncompromising when it comes to the matter of doctrine. He feels no obligation to study the local situation or the character and culture of the people whom he teaches, or to whom he preaches, because he has no authority to adapt to local conditions or alter even in the direction of simplification the truths he has to proclaim.

Educationally, the doctrinist may seem to have an easy and simple task, but it is really quite otherwise, because of the rigidity of content of his curriculum, which must be carefully safeguarded. To him it is sacred and cannot be critically analyzed, lest reverence for it be lost. He often finds difficulty in making his message of doctrines intelligible. He recognizes this and so he frequently asserts that "the carnal mind understandeth not the things of the Spirit." He asserts that we must simply believe where our intellects cannot follow. So the emphasis is put on the word "believe." In good faith the missionary must believe that converts are telling him the truth when they say they believe certain statements. He may attempt to check up their profession of faith by their works, but in his eyes it is the faith and not the works that is important.

In school work the doctrinist thinks of the Christian religion as a subject to be taught in the curriculum. It may be embodied in

formulated doctrines, as in a catechism, or it may be the Bible itself. As soon, however, as he thinks of religion in terms of a subject in the curriculum, life for him becomes divided into manifold compartments. He wonders if he has enough Bible in the curriculum to dominate all the "secular" subjects, and thus make his students religious. He introduces all the religious material he can, such as Bible, Christian hymns, and the practice of regular worship. Religion thus becomes a separate interest, competing with many secular interests, such as science, literature, music, and recreation. With such a conception of "secular" and "religious" curriculum content, it is not surprising that he could not regard an education nine-tenths "secular" and one-tenth "religious" as worthy of being exalted to the position of an end in itself.

In the nature of the case, the doctrinists can agree only approximately among themselves as to the best selection of Bible portions or doctrines for "a course in religion." Logically, each must follow the best light he has. But this makes coöperation even within a single school difficult, and any marked differences among the teachers is readily recognized by the pupils, and reduces their confidence in their teachers accordingly. For the doctrinists, because of this idea that teaching religion consists in transmitting essential truth, and because of the difficulty of agreeing among themselves just what truths are essential, any extended union of Christian work is manifestly out of the question. The possibilities of different missions and churches doing union work are reduced in just the proportion that doctrinists are in the majority. Even where a formula of essential doctrines has been worked out, no two doctrinists derive exactly the same meanings from the words used in the formula.

Because the doctrinist claims to have the essential truth, mutuality in religious thinking between missionaries and nationals is excluded. The doctrinist, individualist that he is, goes to Japan to deliver his message—not to learn anything. Since he has the essential truth, as he believes, nothing can be added thereto. Study of indigenous religions has no objective for him.

The doctrinist emphasizes the importance of missionaries being well-grounded in theological doctrines, and of the orthodoxy of these doctrines. Hence the model missionary is the theologically-

trained, or the general, missionary. He is supposed to be equally efficient in either evangelistic or in school work. Specialists were suspect, because specializing in such a department as science or education, for example, would be likely to result in the neglect of other subjects, especially of religion.

CHRISTIANITY AS LIFE

The missionary who thought of Christianity as a manner of life rather than as the acceptance of certain doctrines, could also quote Scripture to support his position. Jesus said: "I am the way, the truth and the life." "I am come that men might have life and have it more abundantly." He could multiply instances where converts declared that they had become Christians because of the attractiveness of the lives of certain Christians they knew. He might have gone further and declared that words mean nothing except as they describe experiences of men. So that one's capacity to understand such words as faith and love is limited to his experience with people who have aroused such sentiments.

It was noted in the first chapter that the pioneer missionaries to Japan lived Christianity before they could teach its doctrines.⁵⁴ The situation in which they found themselves made this necessary. They found that the Japanese had a definite mind-set against Christianity because of the government's unpleasant experiences with the Jesuit missionaries more than two centuries before. Only by showing the most conciliatory spirit and a desire to be helpful to the Japanese in their every-day contacts could they hope to dispel this deep-rooted prejudice of the Japanese against their religion. Only by living attractive Christian lives could they arouse in the Japanese a desire to study the teachings of their religion.

Educationally, the missionaries who teach Christianity as life have an easier approach to Japanese students than does the doctrinist. For the Japanese student, as he develops the critical mind through the study of science in high school and college, finds it necessary to relegate to the realm of mythology the Shinto dogmas he has learned in primary school about the descent of the Japanese people from the Goddess Amaterasu. Why should he substitute for his discarded Shinto dogma, new Christian doctrine, equally

⁵⁴ Pages 20, 21.

incomprehensible and irreconcilable with the scientific education he has acquired? However, the Japanese is always interested in noble lives, since he is by nature a hero- and ancestor-worshipper. Many have found the life of Jesus as portrayed in the New Testament very attractive. Christianity presented to them as the life of Jesus perpetuated in the lives of Christians has had a strong appeal.

The missionaries who emphasized Christianity as a quality of life were not so concerned about the number of hours of Bible taught in the school curriculum as they were that the teachers were all Christians of winsome character. They depended on appreciations and contagion to teach Christianity rather than on text-books included in a "course on religion." They used the Bible a great deal, and even the catechism, but as aids to discernment of truth, and as vehicles of truth, rather than as the truth itself. After all, religion was not an innate interest, but a cultivated interest built up by a process of teaching appreciations and discernment of values. These missionaries talked much about a spiritual religion that was itself beyond the helps to the attainment of it. For example, they encouraged their inquirers to study the Bible, but pointed out that it was God and not the Bible that was to be worshiped. The Bible was not religion, but a means to gaining the religious viewpoint.

The religious education of this group, too, was transmissive education, for it aimed to pass on a spiritual life that found its fullest manifestation in Christ some two thousand years ago. Along with this backward look, however, was an emphasis on the present work of God's Spirit in the lives of men of to-day, ever making new interpretations of ancient texts, and revealing new meanings in the midst of new experiences of men in new surroundings. This possibility of new meanings and new applications of Christianity being contributed by different peoples opened up a new area for mutuality of religious thought and discussion with Japanese professing other religions, and also a place for the functioning of an international spirit. There was an underlying feeling that each people, and even each individual, had some contribution or peculiar interpretation of life to make to an ideal society, or civilization, or religion, of the future. Mr. Verbeck and some of the other early missionaries to Japan felt that the

sending of Japanese students to study and travel in America, and the inviting of American teachers to come to Japan would promote the spread of internationalism, which was to him an aspect of the Christian religion.⁵⁵

With this dynamic conception of Christianity, experimentation was possible within reasonable limits. It was seen that as far back as 1889 a missionary lamented the sameness of method employed in the schools, and declared that an effective system of education should not be confined forever to prescribed methods.⁵⁶ These missionaries could encourage students to think of the Christian life as working with God in a creative way. New manifestations of God's grace were looked for continually; new fruits of the Spirit would be produced in new lives under changing conditions.

The missionaries who spoke of Christianity as a quality of life were criticized for their supposed theological laxity. They were confessedly more interested in the ethical quality of the lives of men than in the creeds to which such men subscribed. Theological controversies bored them as something remote from the realities of life. They welcomed as fellow-workers men who were specialists in science or education, provided they showed that their lives were dominated by the Spirit of Christ. The thought of teaching a class in religion was absurd to them. They could teach about religion, but religion itself had to be experienced. They were fond of saying that religion cannot be taught; it must be caught. They reduced their fundamentals to one: "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his."

(2) AN EXAMINATION OF SOME OBJECTIVES

The next task is to examine objectives suitable for such a situation as has been described in this study; that is, the mission's background of seventy years' work, the nature of the work in Japan, and the conflicting attitudes of the members of the mission. Obviously, a brief consideration of some missionary objectives set up by others will aid in drawing up suitable objectives for the Reformed Church Mission. Several objectives, therefore, emanating from widely different sources will be considered.

⁵⁵ Pages 33-36.

⁵⁶ Page 66.

AN "ENNOBLED AND FRIENDLY SOCIETY"

In his book entitled "Education for World-mindedness" (p. 13) Albert J. Murphy thinks of the missionary process as

"The coöperative endeavor of idealists of all nations to produce, through the motive of a social religion, an ennobled and friendly human society of varied and mutually contributing cultures."

Under this general aim the author develops practical educational procedures, along the lines of the character analysis technique, to promote world peace, a world society, racial improvement, social idealism and international and inter-racial respect and coöperation.

The author's objective, as the title of his book suggests, is world-mindedness. His ideals of character grow out of this conception of his goal. They consist of socially desirable traits as these are worked out of our present-day social intercourse, by the job analysis method. The author has no patience with "absolute" ends and "absolute" ethics.

The most obvious criticism to be made of this author's aims is that, through fear of separating the ideal from the real, he has not extended his goals far enough to satisfy the average Christian. It is precisely the lure of the beyond, intangible though it is, that makes the highest ideals we can visualize worth striving for. Any ideal of character described in traits most esteemed by a representative group of leaders in this age, or of any single age, seems inadequate when laid alongside of the perfection of the Father, as revealed by Jesus. Moreover, the man trained in Christian theology would have to pronounce the society envisaged by the author as Humanistic rather than as Christianity. If the essence of Christ's character and teaching can be summed up in the phrase "respect for the personality of others," then the above aim contains the fundamentals of Christ's teaching, but it does not contain Christ Himself. Even the reproduction in a person of the qualities ascribed to Christ would not make such a man Christian unless he had the Spirit of Christ. No matter how closely other religions or cults may approach Christianity in their teachings, if they do not acknowledge Christ as Lord, they cannot be called Christian. In the missionary process described in the quotation above, the motivation comes entirely from men—"the idealists of all nations"; there is no indication that any help or inspiration from God or Christ is needed in the task of producing such a society. The Christian finds in Christ not only inspiration for his ideals, but also motivation to work for their achieve-

ment. Such an aim as the above, therefore, is not adequate for a group of missionaries who have a sense of a call from God and who rely on a promise of Christ's presence with them in their work.

"TO MAKE CHRIST KNOWN TO ALL MEN"

An aim from the other extreme—the theological—is next quoted. It is the aim of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. A., expressed in its Manual of Foreign Missions, as adopted in 1922.

"The supreme and controlling aim of foreign missions is to make the Lord Jesus Christ known to all men as their Divine Saviour and to persuade them to become His disciples; to gather these disciples into Christian churches which shall be self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing; to coöperate, so long as necessary, with these churches in the evangelizing of their countrymen, and in bringing to bear on all human life the spirit and principles of Christ." (Page 5.)

The first clause, the "more remote" aim, will first be considered. As compared with the humanistic objective previously quoted, this aim lacks the spirit of mutuality that has come to be associated with the foreign missionary movement. The idea of sharing is not emphasized. The wording makes the missionary task entirely outgoing; a spirit of aggressiveness is expressed in the words "make known" and "persuade." A recognition of the present temper of the Orientals, with their strong nationalisms, and apparently growing anti-foreign sentiment, leads the present-day missionary to seek as conciliatory a statement of aim as possible. Dominating, coercive attitudes, and an inability to coöperate with others, even as shown in this study, appear to be supported by such a definition of aim. It sends forth missionaries with a strong sense of mission to go. But a spirit of teachableness is not only the first essential of a good teacher educationally, but also religiously. If missionaries do not show a teachable spirit, how will the converts ever get it?

The "intermediate" objectives set forth in the above aim are recognized as satisfactory. They have been employed in the Reformed Church Mission for many years, and have worked well.

"TO PRODUCE IN PEOPLE ADAPTATIONS"

A third formulation of aim, expressed in quite different terminology from the previous two, is found in Dr. D. J. Fleming's

book, "Helping People Grow," published in 1931. It is as follows:

"We may say, then, that a main function of the Christian movement throughout the world is to produce in people actual changes, transformations, adjustments, adaptations—largely psychological rather than biological—leading toward a fuller, more meaningful and more satisfying life. More specifically, the goal of the Christian movement throughout the world is the remaking of mankind—the creation of a type of person having the quality and spirit of Jesus Christ. This means a new creature." (Page 2.)

This aim emphasizes the aspect of growth into the Christian life under the psychological concept of gradual adaptations. It gives a wide scope in the use of methods, or "intermediate" goals.

Mutuality is not brought to the front, as in Mr. Murphy's definition. But the question might well be asked here, "Is unlimited mutuality of religious experience entirely consistent with the teachings of Christianity? If any particular type of character is the goal, such as Christian character, then there must be limitations of mutuality—limitations that will ward off ideas destructive to Christianity. As long as the Christian believes that he has a unique possession in Christ, he cannot be entirely open-minded to other religious ideas, without limit. Most Christians see no advantage in religious syncretism because they believe that they already possess in Christianity most, if not all, of the good qualities found in any other religion. Absolutely mutuality, therefore, cannot be considered Christian. The Christian has certain standards, and he will not allow the pull of various other standards to draw him too far away from these standards. This may be stated psychologically in this way. The Christian should enter as far as possible into a mutual fellowship of mutual participation with other religionists. But he is bound to recognize that his receptive powers are limited to the kind of ideas that can be integrated around his conception of Christ and God's will for him.

The above definition is acceptable, as far as it goes, with the amendment that the word "spirit," in the next to the last sentence, be spelled with a capital "S," bringing the additional meaning that such a change implies.

“ THE EXAMINATION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE RELATIONS
BETWEEN PERSONS ”

The fourth aim to be examined is Professor Coe's definition of Christian education. It illuminates the discussion on aims from the angle of the psychologist.

Christian education “is the systematic, critical examination and reconstruction of relations between persons, guided by Jesus' assumption that persons are of infinite worth, and by the hypothesis of the existence of God, the Great Valuer of Persons.”⁵⁷

This definition of Christian education is Christian as far as it goes. It finds the creative principle for its motivation in the assumption of Jesus that “persons are of infinite worth” and the “hypothesis of the existence of God.” In view of Professor Coe's onslaught against transmissive education throughout this book, however, one is led to suspect that this creative principle of Jesus represents the extent to which he would draw upon the past. The writer would draw freely from the Bible, especially from the New Testament, for actual teaching in missionary work, as well as for principles of living. It is believed that as long as transmissive education is employed as an instrument and not as an end in itself it can be used advantageously in missionary work. Present-day Christian education should not fear to draw freely upon Christ's teachings as the best that we know, and seek to obtain a fuller and more adequate expression of those teachings in the present and future lives of men everywhere.

“ ABIDING AIMS AND MOTIVES IN MISSIONS ”

An excellent presentation of aims is made by Dr. Stephen J. Corey in his recent book, “The Preacher and His Missionary Message.” Under the heading, “Abiding Aims and Motives in Missions,” he advances the following general and immediate aims:

The supreme aim of the world missionary task is to give to the world the Christian faith. This aim works itself out in:

- (1) The conversion of the individual.
- (2) The establishment of the church.
- (3) Training in Christian Education.

⁵⁷ Coe, G. A., *What is Christian Education?* p. 296.

- (4) Translating and creating of Christian literature.
- (5) The answering of the great call of human need and suffering.
- (6) The development of the Christian spirit so as to create a new society of the Kingdom of God on earth.⁵⁸

Here is a formulation of aims expressed in a religious vocabulary familiar to the missionary. The first statement sets forward the more remote aim. This is general enough to be acceptable to all Christian missionaries. The items listed under the working out of the general aim constitute the more immediate or intermediate aims. "The conversion of the individual" and "the establishment of the church" are recognized as objectives that have been satisfactorily followed in the mission under review. As to "the training in Christian education" there may be differences of opinion as to how far this training should go, for example, whether or not it is considered justifiable to set up mission schools for general education. All missionaries would now agree that Christian education should have an important place in any missionary program. "Translating and creating Christian literature" has been given more or less attention by the Reformed Church missionaries. In Japan this department of the work can now be left to the independent Japanese Church. The function of the missionary is no longer to do the translating and creating himself, but to encourage Japanese Christians to do it, and perhaps to render financial assistance to further this work. The last two aims bring into operation the social gospel. Some of the stricter "evangelistic" missionaries would probably eliminate both of these, but the tendency is to show increasing interest in these activities. With the modifications indicated, Dr. Corey's aims are acceptable.

"INCLUSIVE" AIM OF JERUSALEM CONFERENCE

In examining missionary objectives, due consideration should be given to those found in the report of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council. The significant part of the aim adopted by the Jerusalem Council in 1928 is quoted below:

"The one inclusive purpose of the missionary enterprise is to present Jesus Christ to men and women the world over as their Redeemer, and to win them for entrance into the joy of His discipleship. In this en-

⁵⁸ Corey, S. J., *The Preacher and His Missionary Message*, pp. 47, 48.

deavor we realize that man is a unity, and that his spiritual life is indivisibly rooted in all his conditions—physical, mental and social. We are therefore desirous that the program of missionary work among all peoples may be sufficiently comprehensive to serve the whole man in every aspect of his life and relationships.”

The aim proceeds to emphasize the importance of comprehensive programs of work among the laborers in fields and factories.⁵⁹

When this aim is compared with that of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions quoted above, the influence of the nationalists present at the Jerusalem meeting is apparent. “To present” Christ to men and “win” them “into the joy of His discipleship” is a much more conciliatory form of expression than “to make Christ known” to men and to “persuade” them to become His disciples. The recommendation that the missionary program provide for the whole man is a new and important emphasis in the aims so far considered. It recognizes the strides that have been made in recent years in the social sciences.

MISSIONARY MOTIVE—JERUSALEM CONFERENCE

The outstanding feature of the “Missionary Motive” expressed at the Jerusalem meeting is the personal influence of Christ in missionary work.

“Our true and compelling motive lies in the very nature of the God to whom we have given our hearts. Since He is love, His very nature is to share. Christ is the expression in time of the eternal self-giving of the Father. Coming into fellowship with Christ we find in ourselves an overmastering impulse to share Him with others. We are constrained by the love of Christ and by obedience to His last command. He Himself said, ‘I came that they may have life, and may have it abundantly,’ and our experience corroborates it. He has become life to us. We would share that life. . . .

“Herein lies the Christian motive; it is simple. We cannot live without Christ and we cannot bear to think of men living without Him. We cannot be content to live in a world that is un-Christ-like. We cannot be idle while the yearning of His heart for His brethren is unsatisfied.”⁶⁰

This statement of motive is direct and plain enough to satisfy the most conservative Christians. But Christians make widely different applications of what they call the life of Christ leading them. Such very general idealistic expressions of motive serve

⁵⁹ Report of Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, Vol. VI, p. 245.

⁶⁰ Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 405, 407.

for purposes of inspiration, but do not guide in choosing methods to be followed to get anywhere. Note further, from the same source, a statement of the end of Christian Missions.

END OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS—JERUSALEM CONFERENCE

"Since Christ is the motive, the end of Christian missions fits in with that motive. Its end is nothing less than the production of Christ-like character in individuals and societies and nations through faith in and fellowship with Christ the living Saviour, and through corporate sharing of life in a divine society.

"Christ is our motive and Christ is our end. We must give nothing less, and we can give nothing more."⁶¹

Here again we have a magnificent statement of the Christian ideal sought—Christ-like character. The crux of the whole matter is for missionaries to formulate and agree upon the best mediate and intermediate goals pointing in the direction of this perfect ideal.

AIM OF MISSIONS—LAYMEN'S FOREIGN MISSION INQUIRY

The aim of missions, according to the Appraisal Commission of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, is as follows:

"To seek with people of other lands a true knowledge and love of God, expressing in life and word what we have learned through Jesus Christ, and endeavoring to give effect to his spirit in the life of the world."⁶²

It is significant that this aim comes as the concluding paragraph of Part I of the report, consisting of fifty-nine pages, devoted to the subject, "General Principles." Before the report on missions is given this large section is devoted to the philosophical basis of Christian missions. The whole report is based, therefore, upon the conception of the Christian religion as a quest for God, in company with people of other lands. This statement is disappointing to Christians who have regarded their Christian religion as a present possession to be shared with others—the idea held since the time of the Apostles of the New Testament. No doubt Christianity should be also a quest, for the average Christian has much still to learn, and a long way to go, to reach the ideals of perfection set up in the New Testament. But to mis-

⁶¹ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 407.

⁶² Rethinking Missions, p. 59.

sionaries Christianity is primarily a revelation of God, giving a definite message. This aspect is entirely lost sight of in the above aim.

"To seek with people of other lands" is carrying the practice of mutuality further than most Christians can go, if, as is understood from reading other parts of this report, the "people of other lands" means people holding other religions. Christians believe that they already have "the true knowledge and love of God," as far as their knowledge and love go, and they might well question whether their knowledge would become more true or their love more fervent by exchanging religious experiences with people of other religions, however pleasant and interesting such mutual sharing might be.

AIM OF MISSIONS—BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS, R. C. A.

The report of the Appraisal Commission of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry led the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America to formulate and send out in a printed pamphlet its official statement of aim in the following words:

"Our aim is nothing less than the establishing of the religion of Jesus as the final and universal religion."

This is general enough in form of statement to be safe and above the criticism of the most conservative members of the church. As before pointed out, in considering such general aims, the real task consists in defining the religion of Jesus in more detail.

(3) FORMULATION OF OBJECTIVES FOR THE JAPAN
MISSION OF THE REFORMED CHURCH

CONDITIONING FACTORS IN JAPAN

In formulating objectives for work in Japan it is important to bear in mind the conditioning factors in planning a missionary program for that country. Such a list of factors was submitted to the Jerusalem Conference by the National Council of Japan.

"(a) An almost totally reading public.

(b) A complete system of public schools, with eight years of compulsory education in subjects both Western and Oriental.

(c) A long history of refinement and culture non-Western and non-Christian in its derivation and traditions.

(d) A strong family system inculcating a deep reverence for ancestors.

(e) A vivid sense of national solidarity and mission, centering in a unique spirit of devotion to the Imperial House. The further deepening of this is one of the aims of the public school system.

(f) Government standardization of all schools, private as well as public.

(g) A constitutional guaranty of liberty in religious belief and teaching. It is in terms of this environment and background that Christian education in Japan has been carried on, and must be studied."⁶³

Various aims for missionary work have been scrutinized. Some of the ideas set forth have been accepted as suitable for incorporation in the objectives under formulation; others are not suitable for reasons stated. A list of conditioning factors in Japan has been added. This material is supplemented by the writer's experience of fifteen years in the Japan Mission of the Reformed Church.

In view of the history of the mission and its inherited responsibilities, the nature of the people and local conditions among which the mission works, the doctrinal position of the Reformed Church, and the background and character of the missionaries available to carry on the work of the mission, the following objectives are proposed.

PROPOSED OBJECTIVES

The ultimate aim of the mission is to contribute, through sharing the personal experience of Christ, in the fullest measure possible, to the growth of a universal Christian society; that is, a society in which each member is motivated by the Spirit of Christ. This general aim involves: (a) the task of christianization of individuals, customs and institutions and (b) the method of co-operation with the home constituency, with other missionaries, and with Japanese Christians.

The following intermediate objectives to be achieved through coöperation are recognized as necessary steps in the achievement of the above aim:

(1) Entering into closer relationships with the supporting American churches, to secure their more intelligent interest in the missionary work in Japan, especially by stimulating the Amer-

⁶³ Rep. Jer. Mtg. of the Inter. Missy. Council, Vol. II, Rel. Ed., p. 153.

ican Christians to recognize the oneness of the task of promoting the Christian society in America and in Japan.

(2) Entering into fuller coöperative relations with other missions. This involves a readiness, in the interests of economy and effectiveness, to redistribute the territory for evangelistic work, and to coördinate the mission schools to provide a complete system of Christian education from the kindergarten through the university. Such coöperation may also lead to the designation of certain mission schools as experimental or model schools.

(3) Entering into fuller coöperative relations with the Japanese Church. Full coöperation here means giving Japanese Christian leaders equal voice with missionaries in determining the use of mission appropriations and in the location of missionaries.

While the acceptance of the method of coöperation with other groups makes it impossible to lay down in advance rigid, more immediate objectives, the following recommendations are made tentatively:

(a) The building up of a body of missionary specialists, each trained for a particular task, such as preaching, administration, or teaching in a particular field, and each conscious of the fact that he is teaching by example as well as by precept.

(b) Emphasis on intensive, rather than extensive work; that is, instead of making the baptism of the convert a goal, aim to make each convert a functioning unit in bringing about the ultimate goal, the Christian society.

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V I T A

Stephen Willis Ryder was born February 10, 1880, at Rockledge, Florida. He prepared for college at Mount Hermon School, Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, graduating in 1905. In 1909 he received the B. A. degree from Yale University, and in 1912 the M. A. degree in English Literature from the same institution. In 1913 he received the graduation diploma from the New Brunswick (New Jersey) Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America, for the completion of the three years' course, of which the middle year's work was taken in the United Free Church College, Glasgow.

After a seven-year term of missionary service in Japan under the Reformed Church Board of Foreign Missions, he spent his year of furlough in study at Union Theological Seminary, New York, and received their B. D. degree. After a second term of similar service in evangelistic and educational work in Japan, he spent three school years (1929-1932), with the summer session of 1930, pursuing studies in Religious Education in Union Theological Seminary and Teachers College, Columbia University. Since June, 1932 he has been minister of the Flatbush Reformed Church of Saugerties, New York.

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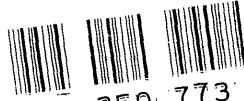
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